ALEXANDRIA UNIVERSITY - FACULTY OF ARTS

ALEXANDRIA ACROSS THE AGES

VOLUME I

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ALEXANDRIA
ACROSS THE AGES

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MAHER ABD EL-KADER

Content

INTRODUCTION

PROF. MAHER ABD EL- KADAR

In the article "Alexandria ad Aegyptum: A Survey "the writer begins by mentioning the distinguished status of Alexandria among all the other cities which Alexander the Great had founded. He reviews its character features as a typical Hellenistic city, and how was it that greatness of this city induced historians especially the Arabs to set out on a long journey of research and excavations in the city.

The writer speaks about the map of Alexandria made by Mahmoud El-Falaki, published in 1872, showing the city streets and walls .He, then, points out the importance of the study of Strabo's writings about the city and its design.

Moreover, he also states that the pottery discovered in Alexandria, presents several Alexandrian features that characterized the Hellenistic Age. Furthermore, he deals with the opinions which Dr. Botti discusses and how Dr. Rowe criticizes them.

He also speaks of the discovery of several useful coins and pottery, that helped to reveal more secrets of this period and to interpret more features characterizing it.

The writer calls for more excavations, and mentions that the Graeco-Roman museum exhibits all archaeological pieces in it in a manner that shows the development of Hellenistic arts and says that Breccia and Adriani promised to make a catalogue of sculpture mosaic and Lamps in Alexandria.

He also states that Adriani made a catalogue of all known kinds and he ends his article by suggesting to study the sources of ancient photos and continue the work in the Serapeum and the Chatby Necropolis.

Meanwhile Alan Wace in his article" The sarcophagus of Alexander the Great" lists a number of scholars such as Tarn, Sidney, and Alan Roy whose work has been most useful to him. This is followed by a discussion of the conquests of Alexander the Great in the East, explaining how he rescued Egypt from the claws of the Persian occupation. Indeed, Alexander the Great did manage to destroy the Persian Empire itself. According to the author, the Egyptian welcomed Alexander as a hero who had saved them from the Persians, who despised their gods. Alexander, contrary to what the Persians did, respected the Egyptian religion and was recognized as the son of Amon in Amon's temple in Siwa. This historical introduction was followed by a description of how the city of Alexandria was built, and how it became a capital for the whole civilized world at the time. Alexander also showed respect for the Egyptian pharaohs as well as their religion. He specifically mentioned Hatshepsut of the Nineteenth Dynasty with all respect as well as Nectanebo II, the last pharaoh of the thirtieth Dynasty. Nectanebo ran to the Court of the Macedonian King Philip asking for protection after the Persians'

conquest of Egypt. Alexander's attitude explains the reason why the Egyptians liked him and accepted him as one of their pharaohs, i.e. as an heir to the last pharaoh of the thirtieth Dynasty.

A coffin was discovered in the mosque of Attarin and it is supposed to be that of Alexander. The inscriptions on that coffin were in Hieroglyphics. The British authorities transported this coffin to the British museum after the failure of Napoleon's campaign against Egypt. However, the author suggests that this coffin was not the real coffin of Alexander. The author emphasizes that Alexander was buried in Alexandria and that people throughout the Ptolemaic Age visited his shrine. The shrine disappeared after that. The author puts forward the opinion that the coffin was in the area where the mosque of Attarin is found in our present day. The mosque was built on the remains of St. Athanasius' Church. This was established on the ruins of the grave of the last pharaoh of the thirtieth Dynasty. According to the author, the coffin of Alexander was placed next to the coffin of this pharaoh throughout the Ptolemaic Age. The author states that Ptolemy I came to Egypt with the body of Alexander, which he had stolen during the funeral. He buried the body first in Memphis, then transported it to Alexandria and placed it next to the coffin of Nectanebo II, the last pharaoh of the thirtieth Dynasty. This act established Alexander as a rightful ruler of Egypt, being the heir to the pharaoh buried next to him. The author also suggests that the body of Alexander was shrouded in gold sheets and put in Nectanebo II's coffin, which carries inscriptions in Hieroglyphics.

The author comes to the conclusion that the grave of Alexander is still a mystery. This topic needs more research, especially in areas such as Kom Ed-Dikka, the land of Al-Naby Danial mosque and the area around Attarin mosque. However, he states that Attarin mosque is worthy of more research because of the reasons he has already explained. Professor Fawzy El-Fakharani, however, in his article " An Investigation into the Views Concerning the Location of the Tomb of Alexander the Great "states that determining the place of the grave of Alexander the Great is a difficult issue to handle. Towards the end of the fourth century A.D. John Chrysostom wandered about the whereabouts. This confirmed that the place of this grave was not known at the time.

This issue was brought to the surface again in the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the Muslims of Alexandria told the British forces that the French soldiers (soldiers of Napoleon's campaign) had hid the coffin of Alexander after taking it away from Attarin mosque in 1801. Archaeologists had started their research around this area ever since that date. Indeed, the author sums up the whole issue by posing the question of " Does

the grave of Alexander really exist in Alexandria?" In an attempt to answer this question, the author gives an account of the fight between Alexander's leaders. Each of them wanted to win the body of Alexander. Ptolemy stole the body during the funeral to bury it in Alexandria so that it would gain more honor. This act would also enforce his position in the Hellenistic world, which was full of struggles concerning dividing Alexander's Empire. According to the author, it was natural for Alexander to be buried in his home, Macedonia. However, Ptolemy viewed otherwise for the above-mentioned reasons.

The author refers to Diodorus, the Sicilian, who suggested that Alexander might have been buried in Amon's temple in Siwah. However, Prediccas wanted Alexander to be buried next to his mother, Olympias, and his sister, Cleopatra). Alexander's wish, however, to be buried in Amon's temple in Siwah, expressed in the presence of a number of the leaders of his army on the day of his death should not be ignored.

Documents prove that the coffin of Alexander was discovered in Sidon in Syria in 1887. However, this does not mean that the body was inside the coffin. Strabo stated that Alexander's grave was placed in the Royal Area, which extended from Lochias's Head till Shatbi. He comes to the conclusion that the grave might exist in the Latin Cemetery because this area is close to Royal Palaces in Lochias's Head on the one hand and the Greek Cemetery on the other.

In the paper entitled" Sculptured Heads of Alexander the Great in the Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria, Egypt " professor Ahmed Ghazal deals with the carved heads of Alexander, which were made of marble and limestone in the Ptolemaic Age. These heads were done as a sign of respect for the figure of Alexander the Great on the part of the sculptures who made them. Some of these heads were placed in his grave, while others were erected in houses as an indication of loyalty to this great leader. Many of these heads, which should be fully studied, are kept in the Graeco-Roman Museum. In this article, the author comments on the styles used in executing these heads, aiming at showing the differences between them and the styles manifested in the heads sculptured in other places. This study of style takes into consideration details such as the hairstyle, the material used for sculpture, the way of carving the head and facial features. These include the nose, the forehead, the eyes and ears and the neck. According to the author, some of these heads clearly manifests the Alexandrian style in sculpture, which he considers to be more sophisticated than the style used by the school of Praxiteles. Among the characteristics of the Alexandrian heads is the interest they show in the beauty of Alexander's face. They are also smaller than other heads. Indeed Alexandrian art did not aspire to compete with

paranoid sculpture, which was characterized by its magnanimity. Alexandrian pieces of sculpture were small and they continued to be so throughout the Ptolemaic Age in Egypt.

While professor Ghazal's paper deals with the heads of Alexander in the Graeco- Roman Museum, Alan Wace in "Alexandrian Notes" refers to three notes on the topography of Alexandria which the writer presented in 1944. These notes are:

First : the Serapeum

He rejects calling "Amud al Sawari" عمود السواري as Pompey's pillar, and says it was wrongly called so by the Crusaders who thought the head of Pompey was enclosed in a cage set on the top of it. He also rejects calling it "Amud al Sawari" by the Muslims as it is vague and no satisfactory reason for this move has been suggested , and the pillar was erected in the age of Diocletain in the same ancient site of the Serapeum which had a small library in Alexandria.

Second: The Tomb of Alexander

After introducing a historical account of Alexander's achievements. the writer says that Alexander has left instructions that he was to be buried in Ammon's temple in the oasis of Siwah, but Ptolemy I buried him in Alexandria to acquire to his capital a Sanctuary and fame to improve his reign and the Ptolemaic Dynasty of Egypt. He also says that several voyagers who visited Alexandria in the Ptolemaic and Roman period saw Alexander's tomb and wrote about it like Strabo, Augustus the Roman emperor visited Alexander's tomb after he had conquered Eygpt in Actium 31 B.C., Cleopatra and, as the Jewish historian Josephus said that, the emperor Caligula visited it in Alexandria and noted down his admiration of the golden breast plate of it. The tomb was present during the reign of the Roman emperor (Septimius Severus) .In the reign of the emperor Caracalla, sources mention that the emperor offered several offerings in the tomb of Alexander including a purple reincarnation for it.

The writer deals with the place of Alexander's tomb and says that it is still an unsolvable problem, and proposes that it may be either in El Nebi Daniel mosque, Attarin one, or Kom ed- Dikka.

Third: Bibliotecha Alexandrina

He describes the books and its kinds and numbers. He also mentions librarians and the location of the library in the kingly quarter and finishes his article by the destruction of the library, the books, and the building but he doesn't say how it was destroyed nor the age which the destruction of the library occurred.

But Alan Wace in article " A Ptolemaic Inscription from Hermopolis Magna" states that the inscription was discovered in March 1945 during the excavation works conducted in the city of Hermopolis Magna. It is dated to the Ptolemaic Age. It is piece of writing dedicating a statue presented by the cavalry. These are the old Macedonian warriors living in Hermopolis and working under the leadership of Hipparchs. The kind of camp these warriors lived in was widespread in Egypt during the Ptolemaic Age, especially in El-Fayum.

The inscription is in Alexandrian Greek and is addressed to King Ptolemy III (Euergetes) and his wife (Berenike) as well as to their parents, King Ptolemy II Philadelphius and his Queen Arsinoe. The inscription is found on a statue that is placed inside a temple designed according to the Doric tradition. Parts of a building made of clay were found among the ruins of this temple. This seems to belong to a previous Ptolemaic period. Next to this Ptolemaic temple ruins of a Corinthian building were found. Hence, for the first time in Egypt, we have remains from the Ptolemaic Age (the Hellenistic Age) representing pure Greek architecture. No other examples were found in any other part of the country. Fortunately, the soil preserved for us the layer of the Greco-Roman basilica in good condition. This discovery is significant, not only as far as the cultural history of Ptolemaic Egypt is concerned, but also with reference to the development of Hellenistic architecture, whether in Greece or within the realm of Alexander's Empire.

Alan Wace continued his examination of inscriptions from the Ptolemaic Age in another article which deals with " Greek Inscriptions from the Serapeum" The inscriptions he dealt with were found by Mr. Alan - Rowe Director of the Grallo -Roman Museum in the Serapeum during the writer of 1943-44. Mr. Alan-Rowe has given permission to the writer to publish them and offered him every facility for doing so.

These inscriptions were found in the ruins lying around the column of Diocletian known as Pompey's pillar, inscriped in a cutting rock beneath the south east corner of the outer wall of the Ptolemaic enclosure.

The Inscription dated the selection of the Serapeum during the reign of Ptolemy III and this plaques consisted of five inscriptions that mentioned the god Sarapis and the goddess Isis and the other gods worshipped in this sanctuary one of this gods is Harpocrates (Horis for the Egyptian) and what is mentioned in these inscriptions confirms that the area around Pompey's pillar (Amud al Sawari for Muslim) was the Serapeum site in the Ptolemaic Age.

The first of these inscriptions dates to the first half of the third century

B.C. in the Ptolemaic Age in the reign of Ptolemy III contemporary to the construction of Serapeum temple and this agree with the writing of the Roman historian (Tacitus) .

The writer of the article presents models of engraves found in the same place some of it is in good state and the others are destroyed and need to mould.

There was a small slabs of pottery dating to the reign of the emperor Hadrian and it is a dedication for the god Sarapis and the gods worshipped in the Serapeum . It is obvious from the complement of the inscription the accuracy of Alan in binding the lings and in deterring its measurement by centimeter as Liden's conference remarks in the complement of the inscriptions which had deteriorated, and the proper reading of it has also contributed to casting light on the right site of the Great Serapeum in Alexandria.

R. Savioz in his article " La Guerre D'Alexandrie" presents a view of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey. After Pharsalia Caesar passed by Asia but he did not stay there except for few days for he wanted to join Pompey in Egypt.

He reached it with two legions and eight hundred cavalries and was received by a popular revelry and tensions for his goals. He knew about the death of Pompey and had another legion from Asia brought to Egypt. He stayed in Alexandria port because of the wind. He was occupied first with settling the struggle between King Ptolemy and his sister Cleopatra. Their father wanted them to rule his kingdom together after his death. He formed an alliance with the Romans to help him execute his will. In the meantime, a struggle started between brother and sister , each of them wanted to have the absolute power . While Caesar was busy trying to appease them ,Pothanus brought the royal army from The Pelusium to Alexandria under the leadership of Achilles. When Caesar Knew that this was done without his knowledge he sent Dioscoridus and Serapion to Achilles to find out about his intentions but he killed the two of them. Achilles had a powerful military force, with which he controlled the city except the quarter where Caesar lived south of the great port in the royal palace. Caesar distributed his legions in the sheets and attached the city but he retreated to the north when the enemies tried to take over the Egyptian navy in the east of the port.

The navy comprised fifty ships coming from Pharsalia, twenty two were in the port already and other small boats in the ship yards. Achilles could attack the survivors and send them dead to Caesar. As a result the situation became critical. Caesar had to burn all the ships and by an intelligent trick he took over the island where Pharos was erected and so was the citadel. This quick move was used to free his navy so that he can receive external supplies.

He increased the fortification of the city in the following days and De Bello Civili finished by describing the escape of Arsinoe , the minor sister of Cleopatra from the palace and the assassination of Pothinus .

In his article"Concerning the House of the Senates in Ptolemaic Egypt" Professor Lutfy Abdel-Wahab poses the question of whether or not Alexandria was treated like any other Greek city in the sense that it had its own House of Senates. Historian have not reached an agreement concerning this issue. Momsen examined the political system in Alexandria and stated that the existence of a legislative institution in the city did not agree with the concept of the centralization of power adopted by the Ptolemaic rulers in Egypt. Thus the never existed a House of Senates in Alexandria. Other historians followed suit such as Tarn and Bushiet- Laklark.

Professor Abdel-Wahab, however, has a different opinion concerning this issue. He mentions evidence which proves that a House of Senates has existed in the city ever since its foundation. This viewpoint is supported by a speech Emperor Claudius addressed to the Alexandrians in reply to an appeal presented by them to have their own legislative institution. Emperor Claudius said that they had a House of Senates in the past and that he would not interfere with that. It is obvious that the Alexandrians must have mentioned that they had a House of Senates in the past. It is also clear that they were honest when they said so to Claudius. Had they been lairs, Claudius would have found out the truth and would have faced them with that. Professor Abdel-Wahab comes to the conclusion that the House of Senates existed in the beginnings of the Ptolemaic Age but disappeared in a later period. The Alexandrian asked Octavious to grant them the right to have their House of Senates but their request was denied.

In the beginning of this article "Egyptian Sources of Information For the Ptolemaic Period" the author states that the history of Egypt is divided into two phases : the first is a period of bloom in which Egypt created and developed its own culture and the second is marked by the subjection to foreign powers. This period started with Alexander's conquest of Egypt in 322 B.C. and ended with the declaration of the republic in 1952.

After Alexander's conquest, Egypt become part of his empire, or rather part of the Hellenistic world. After Alexander's death, Ptolemy .

I took charge of Egypt and his sons became successive rulers of the country . this period extended for almost three centuries.

During this period, the Greek, a minority in Egypt, imposed their language and cultures on the Greek cities established in Egypt. The majority of the population, however, preserved their local culture, their language, their administrative systems and religion.

The article is mainly interested in the question of how powerful was the Greek influence over the Egyptian culture and traditions.
Monuments present some archaeological evidence that the Greek influence was not extremely powerful. Inscriptions in Hieroglyphic are found on Egyptian monuments, which proves that Egyptian preserved their cultural identity in the non- Hellenistic cities.

Towards the end of Nineteenth century interest developed in the study of the papyri .

This means the examination of Hieroglyphic, Demotic, Heratic, Greek, Latin and Arabic texts. Papyri written in Greek and Latin cover the period from 332 B.C. to 640 and present a description of the life Egyptians had at the time. The topic dealt with in .

The papyri written range in the Demotic language from legal texts which throw light on the juridical system at the time to ordinary texts dealing with magic and superstitions.

The Demotic papyri which exist today at the Louvre museum are significant as far as the study of life in Egypt at the time is concerned. The papyri collection in Berlin is equally significant. It throws light on the topographical characteristics of Thebes. The Manchester collection also provides evidence that the Egyptians preserved their cultural identity.

Professor Arthur Lane in his article "Archaeological Excavations at Kom-el-Dik: A Preliminary Report on the Medieval Pottery" attempts to present a provisional classification of the medieval pottery discovered in the excavations conducted in the two seasons 1947 and 1948. The aim of these excavations was to find remains of the Hellenistic or Roman periods. Among the finds in the excavation site were misshapen lamps of glass frit, great quantities of semi-vitreous slag, pottery crucibles containing melted glass and deposits of seaweeds and sand – the raw material used by glass makers. However, there is no circumstantial evidence that potters too worked in this area.

The excavations were scientifically conducted in order to observe the stratification of the material in the ground. Each level of the hill contained a specific type of pottery. This means that the hill was not deliberately piled up in a single operation in the 15th century.

The finds at Kom el-Dik throw light on the commercial and cultural life at the time. They also offer valuable information concerning the ties between countries. For example, there are quantities of "Byzantine" incised pottery and pottery imported from the Maghrib and Spain. Thus these find may be classified according to their origin. The first category includes imports from the Far East, while the second presents imports from East Mediterranean countries. The third category covers Asiatic imports, whereas the fourth is

devoted to West Mediterranean ones. Finally, there are the Egyptian products.

In the article "Excavations on Government Hospital Site, Alexandria: Preliminary Report" Professor Alan J. B. Wace deals with the excavations conducted by the Faculty of Arts in the southeast section of the area of the Government Hospital in 1944 and 1945. in the northern part of this area there is a mound on which the Queen Victoria column stands. This mound on investigation proved to be one of the old forts of Alexandria, now completely ruined. At the southern foot of the mount of the fort is the grave of Schiess Pasha, next to which stand the two granite columns that are said to be taken from the Church of St. Theonas.

The principal tunnel in this mound begins on the eastern side of Champollion Street and runs directly westward. Other tunnels also existed and the purpose of these is still unknown. There date is also not identified.

During these excavations many small interesting objects were discovered. Ptolemaic ware was discovered and so was Roman pottery. Other examples include lamps, fragments of cut and carved animal bones, and fragments of glass of good quality. Finally, a number of ostraca or fragments of pottery bearing inscriptions in fine Greek characters was discovered in this site.

In the article "Egyptian Sgraffito ware Excavated at Kom Ed- Dikka in Alexandria" .professor M.A. Marzouk deals with the glazed Egyptian pottery discovered in the excavations at Kom ed-Dikka in Alexandria. Archaeologists call this kind of pottery Sigraffito. This kind of pottery includes vessels made of red clay covered with a layer of glass. The author acknowledges the contribution of the archaeologist Alan Wace who started excavations in Kom ed-Dikka and invited him to study these glazed vessels. Very few researches have paid attention to this kind of pottery. The author presents a survey of the efforts of these few researchers as background material for the discoveries in Kom ed-Dikka.

The author also mentions the contribution of Dr. Muhammad Yousef Bakr, a lecturer at the Faculty of Engineering, Alexandria University, who presented a report on the techniques used in making pottery. His report included chemical analysis and formulas, which proved most useful to the author as far as the analysis of the technique used for making the pottery discovered in Kom ed-Dikka was concerned. The author also refers to a transcript stored in the library of the Islamic Museum in Cairo. It was written by Ibn Al-Ikhwa Al-Kurashi who died in (729 H) (1392 A.D.). The transcript includes valuable information with regard to pottery industry in Egypt. It specifically mentions a kind of vessel used for yogurt. It is made of pulverized stone, not of sand and it is always in perfect proportions. It is also

glazed with care. These vessels are colored using Tabbin and Manganese and not Nila or Shouks. This is done on purpose so that the vessels may be strong enough to be used for keeping food. The vessels may be moved from one place to the other. They should also be heated by using rice husks and not any other means which may result in contaminating the vessels such as human waste or garbage.

These vessels had an influence on the art of pottery outside Alexandria. They contributed to the process of dating similar glazed vessels that go back to the Middle Ages.The author concludes his article with a description of twenty one pieces discovered in Kom ed-Dikka.

Professor Salamouni dealt with another aspect of art in the Ptolemaic Age in his article "Erinna, The Poetess of Telos, and The Poets of the Alexandrian School "

Erinna began her career as a poetess about the middle of the fourth century B.C. and died at a very young age. We know her through some fragments and epigrams as well as a long poem that is made up of 300 lines in hexameters. This poem shows the authoress at her best. She commemorates her friend Bauces and describes her grief and sorrow for losing her friend. In the poem, the poetess remembers some childhood memories, speaks of games and dolls and bitterly sings of past pleasures.

In spite of her short life, contemporary poets wrote about Erinna. For example, Asclepiads, the Hellenistic writer of epigrams, wrote an extremely fine epigram about her as well as another one in which he put words in her mouth. He describes Erinna in the sweetest way possible. In the second century B.C. Antipater, the Alexandrian writer of epigrammatic poetry, celebrated the memory of Erinna and revived interest in her wonderful poetry, describing her as a singing bird. He described her death in a poetic manner saying that she passed into Hades as she was picking the flowers of poetry. He compared her early death to that of Persephone. Antiphanes also expressed his admiration for the young poetess and so did Theocritus. Dr. Salamouni comes to the conclusion that Erinna's style belongs to the poetic school of both Theocritus and Asclepiads. Her language, which is simple and sweet, is similar to that of Theocritus.

Editor in Chief

Alexandria,

Prof. Mahar Abd El-Kadar

First of March.2002.

Alexandrea ad Aegyptum . A Survey*

Dr.
Clarke

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Among all the cities of the ancient world Alexandria must ever hold a place of honour. She alone of the foundations of Alexander the Great rose to the first rank, and she too, has preserved, in recognisable form, her Founder's name. But in proportion to her status her ancient remains are conversely little, and it is not surprising that many writers have attempted the reconstruction of the Hellenistic city. It is our purpose to survey this work, and to indicate certain broad lines for future study.

The main literary authorities have been carefully and accurately collected by Calderini in his «Dizionario di Nomi Geografici e Topografici dell'Egitto Greco Romano» of which we may hope for further volumes. But in the hands of the careless this dictionary can be a weapon of self-destruction, for it makes, by its very nature, no effort to discriminate between its sources. This source-history is all too frequently ignored. Authors are quoted as gospel without the slightest effort to enquire into the authority for their statements. This is particularly true as regards quotation from the Arab historians whose love of the marvellous led them into fantastic exaggeration — if that is not too mild an expression. The author has had occasion to study medieval British writers on the subject of a Roman antiquity, and came to the conclusion that unless proved by archaeological research their statements had to be accepted with the greatest reserve. Time passes, even in antiquity, and an author who writes a thousand years after an event is not likely to know much about it unless he has access to earlier writers, and even then, if he can read them intelligently, he may misconstrue their meaning.

Local patriotism too has provoked much wasted print. Mahmoud el Falaki's plan is clearly largely fanciful, and yet it is still quoted as an authority. By the nature of his age el Falaki could not date what he found (he published 1872, before scientific study of walls, etc. was begun) and it is a commonplace that authors working to «imperial order» tend rather to do as is expected of them. Hence his streets and walls except in so far as they have been verified, should be ignored.

We can also neglect Hogarths fishing village, though we must be careful not to rush to the other extreme and see a vast and flourishing city. It was a fort, Strabo says so, (17.1.6) neither more nor less, until proved, and the absence or presence of objects of the Pharaonic age can only be accepted when they are proven to be of local application.

This leads us to the vexed question of the Serapeum, on which recent excavations have shed much new light, and I shall beg the reader's indulgence for reviewing the work in detail. At present we have but a preliminary report, and until the pottery etc. is fully published a concise judgment is of course impossible.

Mr. Rowe has corrected most of the assumptions made by Dr. Botti which called for it, and is to be congratulated for reviewing all the evidence to date. I have read somewhere, alas I cannot recollect where, that perhaps Pompey's pillar was carved out of the obelisk of Nectanebo II. This might solve the problem of how the column was erected inside the arcades. And as regards the inscription (1) built into its base and restored 'Αρσινοην Φιλαδελφον. I am not happy as to why the name should have suffered something akin to « damnatio memoriae » if it refers to Arsinoe II.

The published plans (2) show no difference in levels, which are in fact considerable and may assist in the solution of reconciling the site to the literature. A careful study of air photos should prove helpful. At present the material is insufficient to make a tolerable restoration, still less to explain what the Roman walls are doing. As masonry they seem too poor to be Hadrianic, and if, as Wace (3) suggests, the Jews wrecked the temple at the end of Trajan's reign, it is curious that there is no reference in literature, though such an inference is in itself precarious.

Now we come to the Mausoleum (4). The thickness of the walls indicates a large building, but to argue that because its plan is similar to the real Mausoleum, that there was a trierarchy at Halikarnassos for the Ptolemaic fleet, and that an Asian (?) pot was found on the site is like a future archaeologist saying that because there was a British Boys School in Alexandria the foundations of the tower of the Scottish Church must have held an edifice like Big Ben. Also, if it is true that sherds of the 3rd cent BC were sealed above the floor of the «Mausoleum» then it must have been constructed in the early third or late fourth century, and cannot have been a Royal tomb, for the earlier Ptolemies were buried with Alexander in the palace area. Or was the Serapeum the palace area? And why was the tunnel secret? Maybe it was, but it should not be so marked on the plan (5). Are secret passages 2.60 metres wide?

The other and deeper tunnels would appear to be storage vaults. Whatever they are they were not a library, for papyrus would soon rot in so porous a rock, even if faced with stone. As for a Mithraeum, so far as I can recollect, all Mithraea had a Mithras relief at the east end, and benches at the sides, but again it would be hard to find traces of them in limestone.

In the second Report the list of foundation deposits, though in itself useful, does not add materially to the argument .For Greece, as stated, there is no evidence, and Greece and Palestine are not the only two countries of the Hellenistic world.

One would be glad if excavation reports could be made to contain all the material, including coins and pottery, for if they do not there is a great danger (I could quote examples) of these useful, if humble items never seeing the light of day. No one can fully interpret someone else's finds. There is plenty more to be done, and it will be of profit if it is not rushed. The contents of every pit should be classified — an easy task with rock-cut pits, which abound in the plans, yet we have no word about sherds of common wares. Finally surely a better photo of the gold plaques — a highly interesting discovery — could be given to posterity than the badly lighted plate II and the blank lumps of plate X?

But the reader may justly feel that destructive criticism is not enough. What of future activity?

Firstly, and most important, the Museum must not only be open, but must display all its material. If this means building a new one, then treasure hunters must be ignored and all funds devoted to building an adequate and enlargeable edifice. There is much to be said for the growing idea that all digging save that occasioned by building operations and chance discoveries should be suspended until all past work is published and all museums are in order.

Breccia and Adriani have promised us but we have never had, catalogues of sculpture, mosaics, and lamps. The stamped amphora handles are unpublished, and the inscription catalogue could be revised and re-issued. Of vases, a comparative study of the Hadra and similar materials is long overdue, and the red-figure and black-figure fragments call for separate treatment. «Kleinfunde» such as bronzes, bone objects, etc., and also glassware can be added to the list.

Then, as Adriani began to do, a map of Alexandria should be made, showing the location of all known finds, but care should be taken to distinguish between chance material, and walls etc. in situ (see below). The rock cuttings under the sea at Chatby show that the land has sunk since ancient times, and it is surprising how no one has hence seen that Jondet's constructions seen off Ras el Tin ,in so far as they are blocks and not rocks, are as one would expect the Hellenistic harbour works. Again, an air photo of the comparatively shallow eastern harbour might help to place the Timonium and Antirrhodos — whose absence today is surely another proof that the land has sunk.

Here it is fitting to utter a warning about the use of «in situ». It is best illustrated by an example.

(a) A column drum found in its place in a colonnade is in situ, but

(b) if it rolls off onto a grave, a photo of the grave may (wrongly) be captioned «Grave with drum in situ».

This may seem obvious when baldly stated, but when smeared with verbal jam the bread of truth is often obscured. For example a head found between Canopus and Hadra need not necessarily have been carved in Egypt, still less be a proof of an Alexandrian school of art. The presence of a sarcophagus in somebody's cellar means nothing whatever unless there are associated facts.

I am not at all sure that the stone object mentioned by Rowe (6) and earlier writers and inscribed Διοσκουριδου Γ τομοι is not a fake. Its present absence is perhaps significant. Even if it is not, it has no bearing on the site of the Library, for 1500 years of builders must have moved most of the portable material many times.

At this point I ventuce to launch an appeal for the abolition of the term Graeco-Roman, a phrase invented by lazy and bigoted Egyptologists. The period can be divided into Hellenistic, Roman and Coptic at least, and these can be subdivided into Early Middle and Late. No archaeologist worthy of

the name should date an object outside of this scheme, and if he plead that he has insufficient parallels, then we must plan to supply them. Even the Graeco-Roman museum contains Coptic material, and this, of course overlaps into Early Islamic.

Excavation is still carried out on principles long obsolete elsewhere. Pits, totally ignored, likewise foundation trenches, slopes, and roads are visible on every site in Alexandria. As one who has had to clear a 6-metre deep mediaeval cesspool of little save its constituent substance my heart bleeds when I see a pit full of pottery has been ignored in the treasure hunt for statuary.

For future work in Alexandria then, I suggest:

1. Study of SOURCES of ancient writers.
2. Study of Air photos.
3. Continuance of work on the Serapeum.
4. Continuance of work on the Chatby Necropolis — well published, but we could learn more now.
5. Test pits on vacant sites in the town.
6. Verification of the route of the Arab and Hellenistic walls by test trenches.
7. Cross section of the great fosse by the Rosetta gate to determine its date.

Finally may I append a reply to Professor Wace's recent article on the Sarcophagus of Alexander the Great, where he suggests it may be identified with the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, now in London. Against his view:

a. Would a Greek be buried in an Egyptian sarcophagus in view of the current separatist feeling.

b. The presence of the sarcophagus in Alexandria can be explained on the same lines as that of Cleopatra's Needle

c. Had Alexander been buried in it would not the priests have changed the cartouches, for which there is ample precedent, even if it is not demanded by religion

d. Was Ptolemy unable to pay the finest Greek sculptor then living, (and he had plenty of choice) to carve a sarcophagus, or was he likely to miss the chance for the display of his power and wealth?

However, the problem is mainly academic, and one may be forgiven for feeling that the Great Emathian sleeps with his honour as his best shroud.

D.T.-D.C.

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The Sarcophagus of Alexander The Great*

Alan J. B. Wace

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THE SARCOPHAGUS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

This paper is the substance of a lecture delivered before the faculty of Arts on March 27th. 1947. In preparing it for publication I have benefited much from comments and suggestions made by several friends, notably M. Drioton, Dr.Tarn, Professor Sidney Smith, and Mr.I.E.S Edwards to whom my best thanks are due. I am also especially indebted to Mr.Alan Rowe who has generously communicated to me from time to time the progress of his important researches into the history and monument of Pharaonic Rhakotis which will shortly be published in the *Annales du Service Des Antiquites* . The present paper is to be regarded as an attempt to reconcile fact and tradition and is here published as a basis for discussion pending the discovery of further archaeological evidence.

Alexander the great after the capture of tyre in 332 B.C and the submission of the rest of Phoenicia and of Cyprus marched on Egypt which was still held by a Persian satrap (1). It was essential for him to secure these countries before he marched eastwards against Darius and the heart of the Persia Empire, because Persian drew its naval strength from those seaboard countries and Alexander could not afford to leave behind him a hostile fleet which might cut his communications with Macedonia and Greece and make his position difficult. In Egypt too he was likely to be well received. Egypt had never submitted tamely to Persian domination and the history of Persian rule in Egypt is a history of revolts and of Persian reconquest. The Greeks, in their immemorial feud against Persia had always been ready to lend aid to the Egyptians against their hereditary foes. The successful stand made by the two last native Egyptian dynasties, the xxixth and xxxth had been strongly supported by Greece. To assist Tachos of the latter dynasty Sparta had sent her aged king Agesilaus to command the land forces and

from Athens had come Chabrias one of her best known admirals. It was barely more than nine years since in 341 B.C Artaxerxes Ochus had succeeded in reducing Egypt once more. Alexander was thus hailed as a deliverer and the Persian garrison caught between his army and the Egyptians in constant unrest surrendered at discretion. Alexander as usual behaved in the most conciliatory manner. He worshipped the Egyptians gods who had been insulted by the Persians. At Memphis, where he paid due reverence to Apis who had been dishonoured by the Persians, he was probably proclaimed king. After descending the river towards Mareotis he paid his famous visit to the shrine and oracle of Ammon, as the Greeks called the Egyptians god Amon – Ra, at Siwah. His motives in doing so are obscure. Greeks, especially the Cyreneans, had long been accustomed to consult the oracle of Ammon and it is possible that Alexander having been hailed as king of Egypt and consequently like all kings of Egypt. qualified as so of Amen-Ra (2) wished in order to calm possible Greek objections, to have his title confirmed by an oracle familiar to the Greeks and often consulted by them. Ammon recognised him as his son and thus the legitimacy of Alexander as king of Egypt was divinely acknowledged by a god worshipped both by Egyptians and by Greeks. On his return to Mareotis Alexander laid the foundations of his great new city, Alexandria, on the site of the ancient Pharaonic Rhakotis with its adjacent port Pharos. Like so many Hellenistic and later foundations Alexander was not an entirely new city built on virgin soil, but an ancient city refounded, enlarged, and magnified, as Pagasae became Demetrias, as Cardia became Lysimacheia, and, best of all perhaps, as Byzantium became Constantinople.

Among the remains of Greek literature which have come down to us is a History of Romance of Alexander the Great (3). This, in the form in which we have it, is not older than the third century A.D., but most critics are of the opinion that the kernel of this Romance dates back to Ptolemaic times and is in the nature of a popular tale of Alexander's life and exploits composed in Egypt and based on historical facts. It is, we might say, the earliest historical

novel. This is the Romance of Alexander which has spread all through the Orient and through Europe and has been translated into almost all the languages of those regions, including for instance Ethiopian and Armenian and it is known from the British Isles to the Malay Peninsula. The romance, which is usually well informed about Egyptian conditions, says that Rhakotis was an important town and the capital of a district which included sixteen towns. This is confiemed by Mr. Rowe's recent researches into the monument and history of Rhakotis which indicate that it was the key fort and town of the northwest frontier district towards Libya probably from XVIIITH dynasty times, certainly from the Ramessid age. The early harbour works observed by M.Jondet (4) off the northeast end of Pharos island are probably also Pharaonic and at any rate suggest that Rhakotis and its port were the main outlet for Egyptian communications with Mediterranean countries. It was perhaps the main port of Egypt for trading with Greek lands in the days of the xxvith, xxixth and xxxth dynasties. The Samian (5) ship which relieved the Theraean colony about 640 B.C. on the island of Platea was on its way to Egypt and pharos would be the first Egyptian port

to be reached by a ship coasting along eastwards from Platea. Thucydides too knew of Pharos (6). A port in northwestern Egypt would be more suitable for communications with Greek lands than one near Pelusium or Damietta, for these latter were too near Palestine, Syria, and the power of Persia. All the evidence available indicates that Rhakotis was an important town under the later pharaonic dynasties, and not a wretched village as Hogarth believed (7). The seat of the xxxth dynasty was sebennytos, but in view of the close contact between the two last dynasties, the xxixth and xxxth, and Greece it is likely that Rhakotis was then almost as important as Sebennytos, for it would have been the port for external communication. These two dynasties depended so much on assistance from Greece. The importance of Rhakotis in late Pharaonic times is another reason in support of Alexander's choice of it as the site of his new city.

Nectanebo II (Nekht-har-heb) (8) the last king of the xxxth dynasty ruled well and successfully for eighteen years. He was also a great builder and restorer of monuments and temples. He apparently achieved a great reputation and was regarded as a magician by Greeks as well as by Egyptians, as is shown by a Greek papyrus of the second century B.C. from Memphis (9). The Persians in 343-342 B.C. drove him from the Delta and from Memphis, but he succeeded in maintaining himself in upper Egypt till 341 B.C. He may have made Asswan his capital, for his monuments are conspicuous both there and at the neighbouring Philac. After 341 B.C. he vanishes from history. One tale says he fled to Nubia where he died, but nothing is certain except that the time and place of his death and burial are unknown.

Alexander who like all Egyptian kings since Hatshepsut was qualified as son of Amen-Ra, called by the Greeks Ammon, as already stated, wished himself to be regarded as the legitimate successor of Nectanebo II and the xxxth dynasty. Thus in the Romance we find two conflicting tales. One was that Alexander was the son of Nectanebo II who had taken refuge in Macedonia at the court of Philip II and had become the father of Alexander by visiting Olympias in the guise of Ammon which he had assumed by his magic. The other tale was that Nectanebo II though he had fled from Egypt would one day return rejuvenated and deliver his country from its Persian oppressors. Either of these tales would serve to justify Alexander's position as king of Egypt. He was given royal titles and cartouches like all Pharaohs, and the Ptolemies, who succeeded him, also had Egyptian royal titles and cartouches. The ptolemies too we know were crowned kings of Egypt in the Egyptian fashion usually at Memphis, though we know that on one occasion, that of the coronation of Ptolemy XI, Auletes, the ceremony took place in 76 B.C. at Alexandria whither the high priest journeyed especially from Memphis (10). The Ptolemies completed or decorated many temples and monuments which had been begun by Nectanebo II especially in upper Egypt, as at Karnak , philae, asswan, Edfu, Dendereh, and Medamud. In doing so they

definitely associated themselves with the last king of the xxxth dynasty. Their object was to conform to Egyptian kings of Egypt. In this they undoubtedly followed Alexander's broadminded policy of conciliation.

Thus far we have two clear points:-

a) Nectanebo II (Nekht-har-heb) was far from being an unimportant king and it seens certain that he died outside Egypt, at all events outside Lower Egypt. As the last king of the last Pharaonic dynasty, he was invested with a halo of romance which was enhanced by his reputation as a great magician in popular legends both among Egyptians and among Greeks.

b) Alexander, on being proclaimed king of Egypt and probably also crowned with due Egyptian rites at Memphis, naturally was acknowledged as the son of Amen-Ra and so was regarded as legitimate king of Egypt and successor of the xxxth dynasty and its last king Nectanebo II. Alexander and Ptolemaic successors encouraged this by a studied policy of conciliation towards Egyptian religious belief and ceremonial (11).

There was in the Attarin Mosque in Alexandria a large (lo feet 3 1/2 long, 5 feet 3 3/4 wide, 3feet lo 3/4 high) and fine sarco phagus of breccia which served as a water tank for the ablution fountain. This was removed by Napoleon's expedition of 1798 , (12) but subsequently captured by the British at the same time as the Rosetta Stone and taken to the British Museum as spoil of war (13) . the hieroglyphs inscriptions on the sarcophagus, the lid of which is missing, could not then be read. Now that we can decipher the hieroglyphs we know that this sarcophagus was intended for Nectanebo II (Nekht- har- heb) (14) . He can never have been buried in it, for he did not die in Egypt, at least not in Lower Egypt. Why then was his sarcophagus in Alexandria? Mr. Rowe's researches have emphasized the importance of Rhakotis in Pharaonic times. Though, as stated, Sebennytos was the capital of the XXXth dynasty, there is evidence that Rhakotis maintained its importance under this dynasty also as is shown by the monuments of this period found in and about Alexandria. Along these monuments there is in the Greco- Roman Museum the sarcophagus

of a prominent general of XXXth dynasty date (15).This and other funerary monuments suggest that there may have been in or near Rhakotis a cemetery of this period in which important officials and nobles were buried. Perhaps there were royal tombs of the XXXth dynasty in the same cemetery. This would account for the presence of Nectanebo II's sarcophagus in Alexandria. As is well known an Egyptian king had his tomb and sarcophagus prepared during his life time. If this was done in the case of Nectanebo II and there was a royal cemetery of that date at Rhakotis not only would a tomb have been prepared for him, but a royal sarcophagus also. We do not know the burial place of the kings of the XXXth dynasty and it may be objected that if Sebennytos was their capital why should Rhakotis have been chosen as their burial place. On the other hand we must remember that before Professor Montet's discoveries no one would have ventured to predict that royal tombs of the XXIst and XXIInd dynasties would be found ay Tanis (16). It is therefore not impossible that Nectanebo II was arranging for a tomb and sarcophagus for himself at Rhakotis. The sarcophagus is so large that it is not likely to have been brought from a great distance on account of its size and weight. The builders of the Attarin Mosque would hardly have brought it to Alexandria from some other site in the Delta or Lower Egypt, and Middle and Upper Egypt are further away still. The Attarin Mosque was originally the Church of St. Athanasius (dedicated porbably in the fourth century A.D.) till the Arab conquest in 641 A. D. when it was converted into a mosque. Its foundation inscriptions (17) state it was built in 1084 A.D. and thus the traditions connected with it probably go back at least to the date. The tradition always connected with the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II which was in the mosque for so many years is that it was the sarcophagus of Alexander the Great. It was much venerated by all, Moslems and Christians alike, as the sarcophagus of the great conqueror. It was owing to this belief that the French and the British contended, so to speak, for possession of it. In those days the hieroglyphs could not be read and when the hieroglyphs were

ultimately deciphered through the researches of Young and Champollion, it was believed that this was the sarcophagus of Nectanebo I, because it was then thought that Nekht-nebf was Nectanebo II. Now however, we know that Nekht- nebf was Nectanebo I and we realize that Nectanebo II (Nekht-har-neb) for whom the sarcophagus was destined could never have used it, the tradition attached to the sarcophagus assumes another aspect. Is it in fact possible that the tradition that this was really the sarcophagus of Alexander as correct? It is possible that it is correct.

If the assumption is right that Nectanebo II was preparing in Rhakotis a royal tomb and a royal sarcophagus for himself there would then have been there on Alexander's coming to Egypt an unused royal tomb and an unused royal sarcophagus waiting for a royal tenant. So when Alexander's body was brought to Alexandria, it is possible that the unused tomb and the unused sarcophagus of Nectanebo II were employed for his burial. The burial of Alexander in that tomb and in that sarcophagus would have linked him definitely to the XXXth dynasty. In Alexander's day and in Ptolemaic days the hieroglyphs could be read and if Alexander had been buried in Nectanebo II's tomb and sarcophagus the inscriptions would reveal that fact. Popular belief, as remarked above, recorded in the Romance, held that Alexander was either Nectanebo II returned rejuvenated to deliver his country from the Persians or else the son of Nectanebo II. In either case Alexander 's burial in Nectanebo II's sarcophagus would have been appropriate. The son would surely have a right to inherit his father's sarcophagus, if unused. This might have meant a change in the cartouches in the inscription and so far as we know no change is observable, but it is possible that the change might have been made only on the lid which is missing. On the other, hand if Alexander were a rejuvenated Nectanebo II the sarcophagus would be undoubtedly his and no change in the cartouches would be necessary, although Alexander has his own cartouches.

When Alexander died he was wrapped in gold (presumably a golden anthropoid sarcophagus or mummy case) and brought by

Ptolemy I in a splendid funeral car to Egypt for burial (18). He was at first entombed at Memphis and later either the first or the second Ptolemy transferred the body to Alexandria where it was entombed in a suitable royal sepulenre. Is it possible that Alexander, and the ptolemies after him, were buried in an old cemetery of the XXXth dynasty at Rhakotis? If that cemetery were a royal one then the mere fact that Alexander and Ptolemies were buried in it would make the Macedonian kings still more Egyptian and emphasize their continuity with the Pharaohs. Would the Greeks have objected to the burial of Alexander in an Egyptian sarcophagus and in an Egyptian tomb ? The Greeks and Macedonians had already been obliged to accept many of Alexander 's ideas about the union of East and West in the adoption of Persian customs and in the marriage of Persian wives. Alexander encouraged too the theory of divine descent or even of actual divinity for kings and royalty. Greek heroic pedigrees however in many cases go back to divine ancestors. It is true that there were some who protested like Callisthenes, but in general apparently there was no violent opposition. We know too that the ptolemies were crowned with Egyptian ceremonial, and appear in Egyptian guise on Egyptian monuments and statues and Greeks and Macedonians seem to have accepted this. The same would also probably hold true in the Seleucid kingdom which included Babylonia, another country with an immemoria eligion and deeprooted religious and customs.

Ever since hieroglyphs have been read in the nineteenth century A.D. scholars have unanimously rejected the idea that this sarcophagus from the Attarin Mosque can ever have been Alexander 's. This was partly due, no doubt, to the belief that Nekht-har-neb for whom it was made was Nectanebo I and not as we now know Nectanebo II. Since the tradition that it was Alexander 's persisted all through the ages when hieroglyphs could not be read it is conceivably possible that the tradition is right.

The body of Alexander in its golden wrappings would probably have been laid in a coffin of gold and then placed in the stone sarcophagus of Nectanebo II. The inner gold coffin is reported

to have been removed by Ptolemy IX, Alexander I, when in need of funds, and replaced by one of glass. Cleopatra is also said to have taken valuables from the tomb. In the tomb (19) were also at least of Alexander 's royal and military equipment, for Caligula removed the cuirass and we know that the sarcophagus and its contents could be inspected. Octavianus on his arrival in Egypt in 30 B.C. according to Suetonius inspected the body of Alexander and in doing so, Dio Cassius says, broke the nose. It would seem then that the tomb and the sarcophagus with the gold encased body of the great conqueror were always able to be seen by distinguished visitors. Perhaps the procurator Neaspoleos et Mausalei Alexandriae of whom we hear in two inscriptions was the custodian of Alexander 's Tomb. Setimius Severus is said to have shut up all the sacred books of Egypt in the tomb and Caracalla laid in the tomb his cloak, his belt and other valuable objects. If the tomb were a rock cut royal tomb like other Egyptian royal tombs and if the breccia sarcophagus of Nectanebo II was the outer sarcophagus such visits always have been possible.

We thus have two reasons for the burial of Alexander in Alexandria. The first is that it was his own city and the founder of a Greek city was usually when possible buried in its centre, as was Battus at Cyrene and Brasidas at Amphipolis. The second reason is that if he were buried in the sarcophagus of the last king of the XXXth dynasty in a royal tomb in the cemetery of the dynasty that mere fact would strengthen his claim and the claim of his Ptolemaic successors to be legitmate kings of Egypt and true heirs of the XXXth dynasty.

If the possibility of Alexander's burial in the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II can be provisionally accepted one further point arises. Did the legend of Alexander's connection with Necta-nebo II, as told in the Romance, derive from his burial in the sarcophagus or did the burial in the sarcophagus take place because of the legend? Possibly the legend arose from Alexander's burial in the sarcophagus. The hieroglyphs could then be read and if the question were asked why Alexander was buried in the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II (Nekht –har-heb) the reply, following the popular

belief already mentioned, would be either because he was Nectanebo rejuvenated and returned to Egypt as a triumphant deliverer of his country from the Persians or because he was the son of Nectanebo II. Either "explanation would satisfy not too critical an enquirer.

If Alexander was buried in the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II in an old royal cemetery of the XXXth dynasty in Rhakotis where was the cemetery and where was the Tomb of Alexander? This problem remains for further research .The suggestion that Alexander's Tomb lay under Komed Dik is possible , but that hill according to the latest excavations does not appear to possess a core of rock like the hill at the Serapeum (Pompey's Pillar and Kom esh Shuqafa). The greater part of the hill of Kom ed Dik is an accumulation of the Mamoluke period being the debris from active potters' and glassmarkers' quarter. The Tomb of Alexander may have lain under the Mosque of Nebi Daniel at the western foot of Kom ed Dik which has attached to it the long tradition of the tomb of the mysterious Nebi Daniel. There is no reason however to connect Alexander with Nebi Daniel whoever he was. Perhaps the tomb may have lain under or near the Attarin Mosque which in its original form was constructed from the Church of St. Athanasius. On the other hand there is nothing in any legend other than the sarcophagus to connect either the Attarin Mosque or Church of St. Athanasius with Alexander.

Thus the position of Alexander's Tomb must remain an open question. On the other hand if this attempt to reconcile tradition with the facts we possess be accepted then we may believe that the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II once in the Attarin Mosque before its reconstruction where it was the object of the greatest veneration may be in spite of all scepticism the actual sarcophagus in which gold encased body of the great Macedonian conqueror was laid .
ALAN J. B. WACE

NOTES

(1) For the history of Alexander the Great see the appropriate chapters by Dr. Tarn in the Cambridge Ancient History Vol. VI.

(2) In their official titles Egyptian Kings were sons of Ra only, but in their proclamations of their rights and claims to the throne they all, from Hatshepsut. onward, declared themselves to be sons of Amen- Ra and built birth chapels to support this. See also G. Maspero, Comment Alexandre devient diey en Epypte.

(3) The best text of the Historia Alexandri Magni (Pseudo-Callisthenes) is that of W. Kroll, Berlin 1926. the latest account of the Romance is that of Professor Haight in More Essays on Greek Romances, New York 1945.

(4) See Jondet, Les Ports submerges de l'ancienne ile de Pharos in Memoires presentes a l'Institut Egyptien Vol. IX, Cairo 1916.

(5) Herodotus, IV 152.

(6) Thucydides, I 104.

(7) Hogarth, J.E.A. 1915 (Vol. II), p55.

(8) For the history of Nectanebo II see Drioton- Vandrier, Peuples de l'orient mediterraneen II, p. 583 ff.

(9) See Wilcken, Melanges Nicole, p.579 ff.; Id., Urkunden d. Ptolmaerzeit, p. 369 ff. ; compare Annales du service des Antiquites XL (1940) p. 13.

(10) Bevan, History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty, p. 346 ff.

(11) Bevan, op. cit., p. 182 ff.

(12) Description de l'Egypte, Antiquites, Planches Vol. V, 38,39,40.

(13) See Clarke, Tomb of Alexander, Cambridge 1805.

(14) British Museum Guide to Egyptian Galleries (sculpture). p 248, No. 923, Pls. xxxii, xxxiii.

(15) Greco- Roman Museum Alexandria, Room 9, No. 39 (440), see Daressy, Annales du Service des Antiquites V, p. 123, no. xxi. It is possible that there were royal tombs of the XXVIth Dynasty at Rhakotis, see Rowe, Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex. No. 36, p.33 ff.

(16) See Montet, Tanis .

(17) Corpus Inscript. Arabic ., Egypte I, No. 518; Bull. Inst. Egypt. XXIV, p. 147 ff.

(18) See Kurt Muller, Der Leichenwagen Alexanders des Grossen; Wilamowitz, Jahrb. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1905, p. 103 ff.; Bulle, ibid. 1906, p. 52ff. The description is given by Diodorus, XVIII 26-28.

(19) The references to the Tomb of Alexander are given by Calderini, Dizionario Topografico Egitto Greco- Romano, s.v.

An Investigation into the views concerning the Location of the Tomb of Alexander the Great*

Fawzi El Fakharani

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AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE VIEWS CONCERNING THE LOCATION OF THE TOMB OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

By

FAWZI EL FAKHARANI

M. A., Ph. D.

No archaeological problem has caused such a controversy as that of the location of the Tomb of Alexander the Great. The problem goes back to the end of the IV cent. A. D. when St. John Chrysostom[1] asked with emphasis : "Tell me where the "Sema"[2] of Alexander is." From this enquiry it is clear that the Sema was not visible at that time and that its position was unknown.

In modern times the problem appeared again at the beginning of the 19 th century when the moslems of Alexandria informed the British forces that Napoleon's troops were hiding the sarcophagus of Alexander, which they took from Attareen Mosque[3] on their withdrawal from their unsuccessful expedition in Egypt in 1801. The British army found the sarcophagus in the French hospital ship and sent it to the British Museum in London.

Since then many scholars set on a series of research and excavations with the hope of finding the tomb of his Macedonian king. But was Alexander buried in Alexandria or does his tomb lie anywhere else in his vast empire ? This is the enquiry for which I hope to find an answer.

On Daesius 28, 323 B. C. Alexander the Great passed away at Babylon at the age of 33.[4] On the next day the council of chiefs[5] met and decided at the suggestion of Perdiccas to put his idiot half brother Philip III and his posthumus son by Roxane, Alexander IV at the head of the Empire. Perdiccas, the most powerful person at Babylon, remained chiliarch and had the effective control in Asia. He determined to act as the regent of the empire.

Ptelemy's price for recongnizing Perdiccas, was the satrapy of Egypt and the appointment of Arrhidaeus, a Macedonian chief in control of the arrangement for the funeral of Alexander[6].

After lying exposed for few days, Alexander's body was mummified[7] but had to remain nearly two years at Babylon before the funeral could take place. This delay was partly due to the lack of agreement on behalf of the chiefs of the army regarding the burial place and partly because the prepartions for such a luxurious funeral needed a long time.

It was at first stated that Alexander was to be buried at the royal sepuchre at Aegae[8], the former capital of Macedonia, the true home of the kings and the nucleus of all Alexander's Empire. This remained always the hope of perdiccas even after the council of the chiefs decided, according to Diodorus, in favour of burying Alexander at the Temple of his father Ammon at Siwah[9]. To Perdiccas who acted as the heir of Alexander's Empire especially after marrying Cleopatra,[10] alexander's sister, Macedenia ought to remain the centre of the united empire. Aegae especially after a prophecy was circulated predicting the prosperity and stability for the country in which Alexander would be buried.[11] Besides Alexander's sister and her mother Olympias must have favoured Alexandr's burial at Aegae and pressed it on Perdiccas, But was Alexander buried at Aege as Babelon alleged[12] ?

It was natural for a Macedonian king to seek his burial place together with the other kings of Macedonia within the royal cemetry at Aegae; but Alexander was different from all the Macedonian kings who preceded[13] him for he was a universal monarch, the king of kings and the master of a whole world epire. He was a blend of the divine and the human as acknowledged by the oracles of Apollo at Didyma, Ammon at Siwah and the priests of Babylon[14]. He was the son of Zeus Ammon[15]. who asked even the Greeks to recognize his divinity. He was a Macedonian who married a Persian princess and so did many of the Greeks in his army after him marry Persian women. He built up a joint force of Macedonians an Iranians and and appoined Iranians as military governors of the provinces.

Thus, Alexander, in my belief, did not belong, like his predecessors, to Macedonia alone and it would not be surprising if the council of the chiefs meeting at Babylon, decided, in accordance with the decision of the oracle of Zeus at Babylon[16] that

Alexander should be buried in the Temple of Ammon at Siwah, one wonders, however, if by doing that, the chiefs acted on their own accord or at the wish of Alexander himself[17].

It is a known fact that Alexader's death did not occur suddenly, for his illness lasted from Daesius 16 till Daesius 28[18]. The pain was so ac cute [19] and his health was deteriorating day by day. Alexander undoubtedly felt this fact, at least when the Macedonian soldiers filed past his bed one by one the day before his death, after a rumour spread among the soliders soldiers alleging that Alexander was already dead. [20] This might have inuced him on his own or at the request of those around him to express his wish regarding his burial place especially when he realized, as has alroady been stated[21], that the majority of his ancestors of the House of Acacides did not reach 30 years of age. There is more reason to suppose that he expessed such a wish since he wanted to be interred [22] and since he cared, few days after he was struck with illness, to expess his concern regarding the affairs of the State. This is illustrated in giving his sealing ring to Perdiccas, [23] one of his most trusted generals.

Ancient records give us two versions of Alexander's wish concerning the location of his tomb. One of these records is a coptic manuscript of an Alexandrian by the name Khademon who had been identified by Lumbroso and Botti as Khoeremon, a member of the Museum of Alexandria in A. D. 80[42]. The manuscript claims that Alexander wished to be buried in Alexandria in Egypt. The other version appears in the writings of Pausanias [25] who states that Alexander wished to be buried in the Temple of his father Ammon at Siwah.

I rather accept the version of Pausanias since we know that the decision of the council of the chiefs enforced it and came in full accordance with it. Besides, I do not see why should Alexander prefer Alexandria to all the towns in his vast empire and to all the cities he built[26]. Alexander after all was aware that the city was still under construction[27]. If Alexander was to prefer Alexandria, just because it falls in Egypt where Ammon existed, it would be more reasonable for him to choose Siwah where the temple of his father stood.

On the other hand Alexander's care and respect for Ammon at Siwah is acknowledged by all. In the Temple at Siwah, Alexander got his honours regarding his parentage when he was nominated the son of Zeus Ammon[28]. In addition he very often consulted the

oracle of Ammon and especially regarding what he should do for his dead friend Hephaestion who died only one month before him [29].

Thus in my belief, the council of the chiefs, in their decision regarding Alexander's burial at Siwah was acting according to the wish of Alexandria himself. The funeral precession was ready to start on its long journey about the end of 231 B.C. The chariot and the golden coffin made by Heronymus and other artisans were masterpieces of art. From the description of Diodorus [30] we understand that the chariot had a golden vault covered with precious stones and decorated with reliefs of goat stags, gold rings and garlands. There were figures of Victoriles holding trophies. The vault rose on a gold colonnade within which was a golden net carrying long illusterated tablets. The chariot was driven by 64 mules wearing golden crowns and bells. Collars set with precious stones and embroidered with gold were placed around their necks.

We learn from Pausanias that the funeral took a land route till Memphis[31] where Ptolemy buried Alexander[32]. The burial there was confirmed by the inscriptions on a fragment of Parian marble. [33]. One, therefore wonders if the funeral was supposed originally to take the land route to Siwah or was it to go part of the journey by sea ?

The sarcophagus discovered in 1887 at Sidon [34] in Syria (now in the Museum of Constantinople)throws in my belief, much light on the answer to this enquiry. It was called after Alexander because the Macedonian leader appears on it in relief in one of his battles with the Persians.

The sarcophagus was taken by the excavator Hamdy bey and Reinach, to have been that of Perdiccas, Parmeno, Mazaios the Persian, Laomedon the friend of Alexander or Kolophon the son of Artabazos,[35]. Mendel, [36] on the other hand thought that Abdallonymus, a Phoenician who was set upon the throne by Alexander about 332 B.C. had it made for himself.

No matter whose body was found in this sarcophagus, there is, in my belief, much reason to think that this sarcophagus was made at the order of aGreek and not a Phoenicien as Mendel supposed. It is made of

pentelic marble in the pure Greek style of the last quarter of the IV cent. B. C.[37] Moreover, it took the form of a Greek. Temple with acroteria, antefixes, guttae and pedimental sculptures. It must have been made in Greece by a capable Greek artist for one whose taste and thought was Greek and not merely for an admirer or Alexander.

The representation of Alexander on the sarcophagus recalls such painted representations of the King as seen on the tablets carried by the funerary chariot which were described by Diodorus. The careful execution, the rich decorations and the colours used on this sarcophagus make me believe that the sarcophagus was made for Alexnder's body. It may have been ordered therefore as part of the preparations for the funeral, just after Alexander's death and about the same time as the order of the chariot. It was meant, as it seems to me to have been made in the course of the time during which the body was to stay at Babylon. If that is so, the gold coffin with the body of Alexander may have been intended to be transferred at Sidon into this marble sarcophagus as a safeguard against the sea winds and the humidity of the salt waters on the sea route from Sidon to Paraetonium (Marsa Matrouh). The body would then have taken the land route from Babylon to Sidon

But instead of taking the sea route from Sidon, the funeral had to go by land to Egypt escorted from Syria. Ptolemy who had come together with a big force to Damascus. Ptolemy's arrival in Syria seems to have been unexpected because his execuse was to add to the magnificenee of the funeral when it was clear that he wanted to safeguard the body from being kidnapped by perdiccas and his officers. Perdiccas was in Asia minor when the funeral set on its journey. He inrended to head a strong army and lead the funeral to Aegae.[38] He sent therefore Polemo and Attalus to convey this plan to Arrhidaeus the officer in charge of the funeral who seemed to have been acting in accordance with Ptolemy. The generals of Perdiccas intended to see that the plan was fulfilled even by force if necessary [39]. Had it not been for the arrival of Ptolemy in Syria, Polemo and Attalus might have been succesful. Their failure must have been one of the direct causes which made Perdiccas attack Egypt in person, He intended not only to secure the body of Alexander but also to punish Ptolemy for killing his friend and agent Cleomenes [40] and for conquering Cyrene and making alliance against him with his enemy Antipater.

Although in the ancient records no reason was given for burying Alexander at Memphis, yet I believe that this attitude of Perdiccas towards Ptolemy especially in trying to secure the body of Alexander for Macedonia dicatated on Ptolemy the burial of Alexander at Memphis and not at Siwah. Memphis was then the capital of Egypt because Alexandria was still under construction 24. In it was the residence of the satrap of Egypt, Ptolemy. In burying Alexander there, the body would be under the close protection of Ptolemy. At Siwah, away from the capital of Egypt, there was always the risk of having the body or the other contents of the tomb stolen since it would not fall under the direct guard of Ptolemy because the journey to Siwah from the Nile is a long, difficult and dangerous one.

Rubensohn [41] thinks that Ptolemy buried Alexander at Memphis because the gods of the Nile such as Ammon at Thebes, Ptah at Memphis or Ra at Heliopolis were higher in rank than Ammon at Siwah; "Dem aegyptischen Volk standen der thebanische Amon, der Ptah von Memphis oder der Sonnengott von Heliopolis weit hoher als der orakelgebende Widder von Siwe". So Memphis being the centre for the cult of imptrtant gods, was the proper place for Ptolemy Soter where he could establish the cult of Alexander as has been indicated in the Papyri of El Hibah and Elephantine in Upper Egypt[42]. I do not agree with Rubensohn in ranking the gods of the Nile higher than Ammon at Siwah. His statement could only be correct as far as the native Egyptians were concerned. For the Greeks, the position of Ammon at Siwah was quite different. Ammon at Swiah was undoubtedly higher than all the deities of Egypt, because it was the most known god to the Greeks long before Alexander visited his temple at Siwah. The greeks' knew him through the colonists of Cyrenae who came to consult his aracle[43] since Siwah was close to Cyrenae. Prominant Greeks consulted his oracle, for it ranked by the Athenians with Delphi and Dodona[44]. Ammon of Siwah was honoured at Athens where he had a cult before 371-370 B. C. and a temple before 333 - 332 B. C.[45] Pindar, Euripides and other Greek writers praised him[46]. The god was so revered by the Greeks that was called by many of them "Zeus Ammon[47]. Alexander would not have taken that great risk in going on such a dangerous journey to Siwah if the God of Siwah was not for the Greeks higher than those gods of the Nile. Therefore it appears to me that the reason

given by Rubensohn was not the motive which induced Ptolemy to bury Alexander at Momphis. Ptolemy after all was a Mecedonian and would have looked at Ammon at Siwah through the Greek eye and not thruogh the Egyptian one.

The body of Alexander did not remain permanently at Memphis because we learn from ancient authorities that it was transfered to Alexandria after the city had become the capital of Egypt and the new residence for the kings. It was safer to have the body in the city where the Ptolemies were staying at least because Alexander was the leader who brought them in to the country. Besides Alexandria was a Greek city in comparison to Memphis and the most suitable place for the tomb of the Macedonian king. On top of that we must not forget that Alexander was its founder. When the city had almost been fully constructed under Philadelphus, there was the need for a local ged," *'Αγαθὸς Δαίμων*" [48] Alexander was the most appropriate person for the city he built especialy after his cult had already been establisded at Memphis since 231 B.C.

Ptolemy Philadelphus placed his tomb (the Sema) near the biggest square of the city, "*Μέσον Πεδίον*" [49] to draw rhe attention to it because of its importance as the city god. His tomb was thus a sacred precinct *Τεμενος* or *ἡρῷον* which even the Roman generals and emperors visited and to it they showed their respect. It contained the tombs of Soter land Berenike[50], the parents of Philadelphus who were also worshipped.

Besides it has been said that the high priest of Memphis pressed the removal of the body of Alexander to Alexandria[51]. If that is correct it is quite possible that he did that in order to avert any danger that might befall Memphis and her temples. He saw that Perdiccas fought two battles against Ptolemy, of which one was near Pelusium and the second south of Bubastis near Memphis, for the sake of the body and for other reasons. [52] He feared that some general might attempt again to get pessession of the body.

There is no doubt that Alexander was buried in Alexandria and that his tomb was not only visited by several Roman emperors but mentioned by many greek and Latin authors.

Strabo[53] who lived in the time of Augustus tells us that when Ptolemy moved the body of Alexander from Memphis to Alexandria,

he laid it in a gold Sarcophagus. He also added that Prolemy nicknamed Cocces or Pareisactus plundered the tomb and laid the body in a glass sarcophagus. Many emperors and generals cared to visit his tomb in Alexandria because Alexander was considered the 13 th god the Roman Senate. [54]

Julius Caesar [55] visited the tomb and pondered for a while before Alexander's body. Suetonius [56] tells that Augustus looked atAlexader's body with respect, set upon it a gold coronet and threw flowers on it. When he was asked if he would like to visit the tombs of the Ptolemies, he answered that he came to visit a king and not the dead. We are also informed that when Augustus embraced the body of Alexader a piece of Alexander's nose broke off. Caligula as we know from Suetonius did not visit the tomb but caused the breast-plate of Alexander to be taken from his tomb [57] and afterwards used to wear it during the the pantonimic triumphs. Dio Cassius [58] who lived about A.D. 200 informs us that Septimius severus visited the tomb, put all the sacred papyri which were collected from the temples, whihin the glass sarcophagus and then prevented the people from visiting it. His son Caracalla, as we are told by Herodian [59] (c. 240) took off his own purple toga and placed it on Alexander's body together with his jewels and rings. Thus we have a record of visits by various Roman emperors down to Alexander Severus. [60]

The writers were not quoting one another nor did they take their infomation from a certain ancient author, but on the contrary, each auther left us a description of the visit made to the tomb by the emperor lived about his own time. This leaves us pretty sure, that Alexander was buried in Alexandria. Where about in Alexandria his tomb stood, is in itself a problem of great controversy.

Two of the Arabic traditions put Alexander in connection with two mosques in Alexandria. This is due to the fact that Alexander the Great was taken to be Iskander Zoolcarnein (i. e. Alexander with two horns) who mentioned with reverence in the Koraan. [61] Because of this also two other Moslem countries of Asia claim to have his tomb within their territory. In Margilan, the capital of the province of Phergana in Eastern Turkestan, the natives show a tomb which Phegana in Eastern Turkestan, the natives show a tomb which they consider to be that of Alexander. [62] On the eastern coast of Sumatra in Palembague, there is anther tomb and the trace of a foot which the natives believe to belong to Alexander. [63] However there are no grounds in

support of these allegations of the Asiatic countries. They have to be rejected since we are informed through ancient literary sources that Alexnder was not only buried in Alexandria of Egypt but that his tomb there was even robbed by the Ptolemies and visited throughout the by various Roman emperors. The cult of Alexander which was indero-duced by the Ptolemies and retained under the RomanEmpire was modified into a form of reverence and respect by the Christians and later by the Moslems[64]. This respect made the Arabs Connect his tomb with two mosques in Alexandria. Since Alexander was for the Christians of Alexandria, the son of the pharaoh. Nectanebo II,[65] the Moslems of the city after them took the pharaohic sarcophagus made of green Egyptian breccia which stood in the Attareen Mosque to be that of the great Macedonian leader. The sarcophagus, as mentioned above, is now in the British Museum and has been proved to belong to the Pharaoh Nectanebo II (Nekhthar - heb)[66].

Wace[67] thought that since the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II was empty when Alexander's body was transferred to Alexandria, the body was placed in it because Nectanebo II according to Pseudo-Callisthenes, was the father of Alexander, Clarke[68] rejected this view on the grounds that a Greek should not be buried in an Egyptian sarcophagus because Ptolemy also could for the finest sarcophagus for Alexander. For Clarke the sarcophagus was wrongly called after Alexander in the same manner as calling the obelisques of Alexandria (Cleopatra's Needles). Besides there are no cartouches of Alexander on the sarco-phagus.

I do not agree with Wace because Pausanias informed us that Ptolemy buried Alexander at Memphis, the Pharaonic city, according to the customs of the Macedonians[69] "νόμῳ Τῳν Μακυδονων" Therefore one would not expect that Alexander was placed in Alexa-ndria, the Greek city which he founded in a pharaonic sarcophagus but I suppose that he was buried according to the Macedonian in Alexandria or the Greek customs also. Besides, if Alexander was to be buried in this sarcophagus which belonged to Nectanebo II, the father of Alexander as Wace thinks, then why did Ptolemy bury him in Memphis at all ? He could have taken him directly to Alexandria where the Sarcophagus was or he could have had the sarcophagus transferred to Memphis to enclose the body

The other tradition which has many supporters and many points in its favour claims that the tomb lies under the Mosque of Nabi Danial in Alexndria or in its vicinity. This mosque was identified by Mahmoud Bey[70] Neroutsos,[71] Zogheb,[72] Botti,[73] Hogarth[74] Thiersch[75] Breciea, [76] Adriani [77] and many others [78] as the "Mosque of the Prophet and King Iskandar" mentioned by Leo Africanus[79] (1491-1517) and later by the traveller Malmol.

In my belief, the statements of Leo Africanus, Malmol or many Arab, Spanish or European travellers and writers are of no value on that point because we know that Alexandria especially the Royal Quarter of the Ptolemaic city in which, as Strabo [80] tells us, the Sema of Alexander fell, suffered in antiquitiy a series of misfortunes and destruction. These misfortunes started under Caracalla and continued under Zenobia and even under Aurelian, Decius, Diocletian, Theophilus, Cyril and the Justinian as well as Theodora, and the Persian king Hosroes I.[81] (c. 616) The Sema, however, was long not visible to the eye and its location unknown even before many of these misfortunes befell the city as the statement mentioned above of St. John. Chrisostomus, at the end of the IV cent. A. D., implies, 2 "*Ποῦ γάρ, εἰπέ μοι, Τὸ σῆμα 'Αλεξάνδρου; δεῖξον μοὶ καὶ εἰπέ τὴν ἡμέραν καθ' ἣν ἐτελεύτησε;*

Since the Arabs are used to have the tomb of the cheikh or the prophet after whom the mosque is called inside his mosque, (e. g. the mosques of Sidi el Hossein in Cairo, El Sayed el Badawi in Tanta and Abul Abbas in Alexandria) the Mosque of the Prophet and king Iskander, therfore, was supposed by the Alexandria Moslems to contain the tomb of Alexander the Great. This, I think, cannot be true because the mosque was identified later as the Mosque of Nabi Danial. Nabi Danial himself is not buried in his mosque and I think it is interesting to know that the tomb inside the mosque is empty[82].

Another point taken in favour of locating the tomb of Alexander there is that the Mosque of Nabi Danial was built at the foot of the hill called Kom el Dick which was identified as Kom el Demas or as an extention of it. Kom el Demas as mentioned in the Sanxary[83] on Babah 18, was the site where a treasure of golden objects and precious stones of the time of Alexander the Great was discovered when Theophilus was patriarch (c. 385) during the clearing of some of the ruins in order to build the Church of Elias and John. Besides, pagan tombs[84]

as well as Christian and Meslem were found on the same hill whose name means ,,the of bodies ,,since the meaning of the Arabic word ,,Kom is heap and that of the Greek word "demas "Τὸ δέμας" is "body or statue"[85] The discovery this century of a torso of white marble of Hereules in front of a funerary chamber [86] there corroborated the view of having the tomb of Alexander there since we know that Alexander was thought to have descended from Hercules by Garanas, [87]

It is true that there were tombs at Kom el Dick. The Polish excavations have recently revealed some of them. Anyhow these tombs are of minor importance. In may view, they have nothing to do with the Tomb of Alexander since they are simple and of the ordinary type and do not represent part of the acient Royal Necropolis. Ordinary tombs of this type are found everywhere in Alexandria such as at Shatby, Hadra, Gabbari and elsewhere.

Similarly, the treasure mentioned in the Synaxory could have belonged to any personality of Alexander's time whether this personality was civilian or military. The discovery of the statue of Hercules does not not necessarily mean that the Tomb of Alexander is in the neighbourhood because statues are moveable objects which can be removed from one spot to another. We have also no literary reference stating that a statue of Hercules was placed in front of the Tomb of Alexander. We know also that statues of Alexander were discovered at Abukir and This does not mean that Alexander was buried there.

In 1850 Schilizzi, [88] the Greek dragoman of the Russian Consulate of Alexandria alleged that he saw through a hole in the wooden door of the vaults under the Mosque of Nabi Danial a glass sarcophagus enclosing the mummy of a man (Alexander) crowned with a diadem and several papyri scattered around his body. It seems that Schilizzi got this fantasy through reading Strabo, Dio Cassius and other ancient writers. Mahmoud el Falaki, however, found only debris in the vaults. A glass sarcophagus, however, cannot stand such destructions. Besides Schilizzi was a collector of antiquities and would have possibly kept the secret of the sarcophagus and its contents for himself if his story was true.

Various excavations were carried out at Kom el Dick by Breccia[89] Adriani, [90] Wace,[91] Michalowski [92] and others but showed no trace of the Sema of Alexander. The granite column under the Mosque of Sidi Abdel Razzak which stands on the opposite side of Rue Nabi

ıcing the Mosque by that name are much later in date than the cause of the use of the granite shafts on marble Ionic bases. ı Roman feature of a late period as seen also in the Roman which is found under the tomb of NabiDanial inside the mosque.[93]

The Mosque of Nabi Danial has been identified as the Mosque of the Prophit and King Iskander because Leo Africanus (1491-1517) and the traveller Malmol after him stated that the Mosque of Iskandar was situated in the centre of the city, not far from the Church of St. Marcus. The site of the Mosque of Iskandar was in its turn identified as that of the Sema of Alexandder because the Sema, according to Achilles Tatius[94] was placed almost in the centre of the city of Alexandria

These identifications are, in my view not correct because the Arab city of Alexandria of the 15th century is not the same in size as that of the Roman city in time of Achilles Tatius. Cities are like human beings, sometimes small and sometimes big. sometimes healthy and prosperous and somtimes weak and backward. Therefore it is wrong to assume that when a city grows, it does with equal measueements on all sides. The centre of the city changes at times. Since Alexandria has to-day greatly changed from the Arab city of the 15th cent., therefore we must expect the Roman city of Alexandria to be different in the extent of its area-from the arab city and the centre of the two cities must not be the Same.

In order to locate exactly the center of the Roman city of Achilles Tatius and the position of Alexander's tomb we mustexa mine carefullythe text of this auther and compare it with te writings of the other authers of the Roman period since we have no records of the site by any writer of the Ptolemaic period.

Achilles Tatius, in his description of Alexandria which he left us in his novel, "The Adventures of Leucippe and Clitophon" is undoubtedly the most useful and important reference concerning the location of the Tomb of Alexander. His importance lies in the fact that he is a Greek born in Alexandria and that he saw and described the city through the eyes of a native who knew it well.

This fact throws, in my view, much light on the problem of his date. Gaselee [95] and Pauly-Wissowa [96] put him at the end of the IIIrd or early in the IVth cent. A. D. on the ground of his style. Jebb ,[97] Seyffert [98] and Smith [99] place him in the middle of the Vth cent. A. D. However,I rather believe that he belongs to the earlier date for the foll-

owing reason. We know that the destruction of Alexandria and especially the Bruchium, the most beautiful quarter of the city, took place mainly under Aurelian in A. D. 272.[100] Therefore we must expect to find the Alexandrians and especially the Greek natives very unhappy and sorry for the catastrophe which befell their most beautiful quarter where the Sema was placed. But since the Greek natives were suppressed by the harsh rule of Aurelian and the succeeding emperors on account of the revolt of Firmus, the Greek of Seleukia and the merchant of Alexandria, it was natural for the suppressed to try to find a way to express their deep regret and sorrows for this misfortune in a way which could not be considered hostile to the Roman occupation of Egypt. It happens that in any country and at any period when the people are not contented with a certain regime or government, they express their indignence, unhappiness and regret for the good old days by means of making jokes, writing comedies, novels or the like. Therefore I believe that Achilles Tatius was one of those Geeks of Alexandria who lamented their unfortunate city and wanted to temind his fellow country men of the beauty of their recently destroyed beautiful quarter. He, therefore, wrote his novel, *Τὰ Κατὰ Λευκίππην Καὶ Κλειτοφῶντα* and made the speaker visit Alexandria before the destruction. He, thus found a chance to describe the city he knew and saw in reality before the destruction or as described to him by his parents or acquaintances who saw and knew what it was like. Therefore his date must not fall later than the early years of the 4the cent. if not already in the third A.D. He cannot belong to the 5the cent. because by the end of the 4the cent. the location of the Sema of Alexander, as known from st. John Chrysostomus, was completely unkown. As a proof to that the position of the tomh of Alexander was never mentioned after the end of the fourth cent. A. D.

The text which Achilles Tatius left us runs as follows,: —

" ἀνιόντι δὲ μοι κατὰ τὰς 'Ηλίου καλουμένας πύλας, συνηντάτο εὐθὺς τῆς πόλεως ἀστράπτον τὸ κάλλος,καὶ μου τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐγέμισεν ἡδονῆς. Στάθμη μὲν κιόνων ὄρθιος ἑκατέρωθεν ἐκ τῶν 'Ηλίου πυλῶν εἰς τὰς Σελήνης πύλας. Οὗτοι γὰρ τῆς πόλεως οἱ πυλωροι, ἐν μέσῳ δὴ τῶν κιόνων τῆς πόλεως τὸ πεδίον. 'Οδός δὲ διὰ τοῦ πεδίου πολλὴ καὶ ἔνδημος ἀποδημία. 'Ολίγους δὲ τῆς πόλεως σταδίους προελϝών, ἦλθον εἰς τὸν ἐπώνυμον 'Αλξάνδρου τόπον.Εἶδον δὲ ἐνεῦθεν ἄλλην πόλιν καὶ σΧιζόμενον ταύτῃ τὸ κάλλος. "Οσος γὰρ κιόνων ὀρχατος εἰς τὴν εὐθυωρίαν, τοσοῦτος ἕτερος εἰς τὰ ἐγκάρσια."

From the text we learn that the visiter of Alexandria came to a place in the city called after Alexander "Αλεξάνδου τόπον" Achilles ,Tatius undoubtedly means Alexander the Great and not the Roman emperor Severus Alexander (222—235) because we have no reference stating that a quarter or part of the city of Alexandira was called after this Roman emperor. On the other hand, Alexander the Great was not merely the founder of the city of Alexandria and its patron god but was also buried in it as Strabo and others informed us.

Yet whenever the tomb of Alexander was mentioned by the ancient authors it was either called Sema "Σῆμα" as known from Strabo, Soma "Σῶμα" in Pseudo- Callisthenes or Mnema μνῆμα οἰκοδρομήσας as Zenobius called it. To me it appears that the word Topon Alexandroo "Αλεξάνδρου τόπον' was given at least in the time of Achilles Tatius to the area which contained the whole Royal Necropolis [101] of the Ptolemies and Alexander the Great as well as the parks attached to it [102] The Necropolis represented the Ptolemaion which was the Mausoleum built by Ptolemy IV to contain the corpses of his successors as well as those of his predecessors including the Sema of Alexander. Of these tombs were those of Ptolemy Soter and his wife Berenice and "the enclesure of the brother gods" "Θεῶν ἀδελφῶν τέμενος"which Ptolemy the second built for himself and his sister and wife Arsinoe. The "Αλεξάνδρου τόπον" may have included also the tomb of Cleopatra VII and Anthony which was not far from the Mausoleum.

Achilles Tatius gave us some clue to the position of this quarter of Alexander when he mentioned that it was a few stades from the main square of the city "τῆς πόλεως τὸ λοδίον"In oredr to locate this spot, we have first to solve several topographical problems since the various cartographers of ancient Alexandria give us different positions for it (cf. th various maps attached to this article).

Before presenting the different views on this spot, we must realize that Achilles Tatius specified this square, "πεδίον τῆς πόλεως το πεδίον" by giving the definite article"τὸ"and mentioning the word τῆς πόλεως By this, Tatius therefore, means " the square, i, e. the main square of the city". The whereabouts of that square I think can be fixed because we know from Strabo (XVII, 1.8) that Dinocrates in making the plan of the old city of Alexandria, followed the system laid down by Hippodemus of Miletus. [103] The same system was used for the plans of Priene, Herculaneum and many Hellenistic cities.

The plan of Alexandria as Srrabo (XVII. 1.8) tells us was based on the constru ction of two broad streets (a.enues) crossing one another at right angles and cutting the city longitudinally and latitudinally into four sections Many subsidiary and narrower streets run parallel to each of these two broad ones. The crossing at which the two broad avenues meet forms the square (i. e. the main square) of the city. This crossing is the "πόλεως τὸ πεδίον" of Achilles Tatius.

From this we learn that the street which the visitor of Alexandria in the novel of Achilles Tatius followed after passing through the Gate of κατά τὰς 'Ηλίου was one of the two main streets of Aleexandria. This is also proved through the fact that the square πύλας τῆς πόλεως τὸ πεδίον falls in the-middle of that street "ἐν μέσῳ τῶν κιόνων"

Yet which of the two main streets of Alexandria was that street which the visitor took after passing through that Gate ? This can be defined if we are able to locate the Gate of the Sun (i. e. the Porta Solis or Port de Solei or αἱ 'Ηλιου Πύλαι The historian Malala [104] tells us that Antoninus Pius (138-161) constructed the Gate of the Sun and the Gate of the Moon as well as the Avenue, ἔκτισιν τὴν 'Ηλιακην Πύλην καί τὴν Σεληνιακήν καὶ τὸν δρόμον The author does not give us the of any of these gates in relation to any building which can be identified. Parthey,[105] Matter [106] (whose map is refered to ba Smith)[107]. Botti,[109] and Kiepert[110] place the Sun Gate close to the lake at the end of different latitudinal streets. Neroutsos [111] places that gate on the main longitudinal sreet which leads to Canopus just at the point where this avenue meets the latitudinal street which joins Cape Lochias to the lake. Forster [112] follows Nerouitsos but zogheb [113] and Breccia [114] consider the Gate of the Sun to be the Canobic Gate itself.

Before we try to locate the Sun Gate, we must bear in mind that the Nile was connected in antiquity with Lake Mareotis, which extends behind Alexandria, by means of navigable canals.[115] Thus the passenger in the novel who sailed the Nile to Alexandria had to cross the lake. He must have entered the city in the normal way (i.e. by means of the lake port which was identified by some as Phiale [116] φιαλη because he did not mention in the text that he used any other entrance. Therefore we must expect to find the Sun Gate next to the lake port since the visitor of Alexandria in the novel passed through it as soon as he landed in the city. The position of the lake port must have fallen behind the city because the lake ran almost parallel to the sea coast

and extended from the south east of the city ro the north west. This is due to the fact that Alexandria is not oriented towards the four cardinal points (i.e. North, East, South and West). Since the sun rises in the east, we must expect therefore the Sun Gate and the lake port to have fallen on the eastern part of the lake (i.e. south east of the city).

The street which began with the Sun Gate must have ended with the Moon Gate since we find that of all the gates of Alexandria, these two gates were the sole gates called after planets. 108 The sun and the moon as plants act as we know, in an opposite direction for the sun rises in the east when the moon sets in the west. Besides the Sun Gate and the Moon Gate must have ended one street at its two extremities since they were mostly mentioned together by the various autherities [117] including Malala as mentioned above and Achilles Tatius "ἐκ τῶν Ἡλίου πυλῶν ἐις τὰς Σελήνης πύλας" So if the Sun Gate fell at the lake port at one end of a latitduinal street, then theMoon Gate musb have fallen at the other end of the same street close to the sea Since the streets in this system of town planning were straight as seen at Herculaneum for example, then the direction of this latitudinal street was from the south east (of the city) to the north west. This street must have been the main latitudianl street because the Sun Gate and the Moon Gate were two of the most important gates of the city. Besides, as explained above, the main square of the city fell at the middle of this street.

In addition to these reasons there are other factors which make me believe that this street was the main latitudinal street. We know from Strabo (XVII. I.7) that the lake port was the most important port of Alexandria because of the great amount of goods passing through it Therefore this street which was constructed next to it must have been the broadest of the latitudinal streets because we have to expect there much traffic with many wagons and carts passing through it carrying passengers and goods to and from the lake port.

Although many scholars agree on placing the Sun Gate close to the lake, they differ among themselves concerning the location of the bread latitudinal street. Parthey. (fig. 1) and Matter (fig. 2) place this street at the extention of the Heptastadion. Botti (fig. 6), Jougest[118] Forster [119] (fig. 9) and Adriani [120] (fig. 10) place this street on the site of the modern Nabi Danial Street. They seem to have been guided by the map of Alexandria drawn by Anville in 1766 which can be seen.

in the entrance hall of the Graecc-Roman Museum of Alexandria· Mahmoud Bey (el Falaki) (fig. 3) is followed by Neroutsos (fig. 4) end Kiepert (fig. 5) in considring the street which extended between Cape Lochias and the lake port to have been the main latitudinal street. Although Zogheb (fig. 7) agrees with them on having the same road as the main latitudinal one he takes, as Betti and Adriani did, the modern Nabi Danial Street as the street of the Sema of Alexander.

I rather agree with Mahmoud Bey because he, most of all scholars, has the best chance about 1870 to make „sondages" and excavations in various parts of Alexandria when he was asked by the Kkedive, at the request of Napoloen III, to draw a map of the ancient city for Napoleon's book on Julius Caesar.[121] In the days of Mahmoud bey there were no huge building to humper the archacological excavtions. There were at that time several signs and vestiges of the ancient roads of Alexandria Parts of the ancient columns and buildings apperaed above the surface of the roads.[122] Mahmoud bey was thus able to identify seven longitudinal streets and eleven latitudinal ones.[123] Whiie he was excavating he found that only two streets were wider than the rest. Of these streets only owe was longitudinal and the other which was almost equally wide was latitudinal. Mahmoud Bey found the pavements of this latitudinal street at several point. He found also the remains of columns on either side. This feature appears also in the street which the visitor of Alexandria in the novel of Achilles Tatius took after he had passed through the Sun Gate, *στάθμη μὲν κιόνων ὄρθιος ἐκατέρωθην*. Besides, at the end of this street Mahmoud Bey found the quay of an ancient port which quite likely stood for that of the lake. In his words Mahmoud bey says concerning that latitudinal street, "Elle sort du Cap Lochias, sur lequel il y avait un palais royal, passe tout pres'du port reserve aux bareaux privés des rois de l'arsenal royal et se termine à un autre port sur le canal."

There is also another point in taking this street as the main latitudinal one. We know that in antiqiuty,'the route from Alexandria to the Delta and the rest, of Egypt passed through the lake. Therefore it was quite natural, in my belief, to find in antiquiuty a street passing from Cape Lochias where the royal palaces of the Ptolemies[124] stood to the lake port. This avenue was to give an easy and quick access for the kings to the rest of the country (Egypt) they ruled.

The lake iteslf must have been for the Ptolemies as it was the natives of Alexandria a site for excursions and entertaiment since it was studdied with the small isles on which the drinks were surved. Therefore an easy access for the kings from their places at Cape Lochias to the Lake port was necessary. Since this street has to be used very often by the king, we must therefore expect to find it wider than the other parallel streets and decorated with columms as desribed by Achilles Tatius and proved in the excavations of Mahmoud Bey. It must have been therefore the most important latitudinal street. The two gates which were placed at its two extramotoes (i.e. the Sun Guardinans and the Moon Gate) were as were as Achilles Tatius wrote, the guardi an of the city "οὗτοι γὰρ τῆς πόλεως οἰππλωροί" because one stood a the south east the lake port while the other was placed next to the Great see Port and Cape Lochias,

Now that we have known the position of the main latitudinal street, let us try to find ou t the main longitudinal one in order to be locate the main square of the city. We known from Strabo (XVII.I 1. & 16) that the Canobic Gate was placed at the eastern side of the main longitudinal street. In all maps of ancient Alexandria apart from Botti's (fig. 6) this longitudinal avenue seems to run exactly under the modern Horreya Street. Botti, however, thinks that it ran under the track of Alexandria-cairo railway line.

Since Mahmoud Bey found in his excavations that the street which runs under the present Horreya Avenue was the widest among the seven longitudinal streets which he was able to trace, I feel rather convinced that this was the main longitudinal street and that Botti was not correct. Mahmoud Bey made also sure of the main longitudinal street when he examined the street at six points. Besides, several discovereries of ancient buildings were made along this street. The ruins of a Graeco-Egyptian temple dedicated to Oserapis and Isis, to king Ptolemy Philopator and his wife Arsincé were discoveed on one side of this street. They occupy the site of the modern Cultural Centre (formerly Mohammed Ali Club). [125] The remains of another huge Ptolemaic building were recently found on the same side of the avenue when laying the foundations of the Insurance Building next to Cinema Amir.

The old street was called the Canoblic Avenue [126] because on it was placed the Canobic Gate and because it led to the old town

of Canopus. Canopus was an old Pharacnic pot on the Nile [127]. It was famous under the Ptolemies and the Romans[128] as a pleasure town and a place for healing and pilgrimage. In Coptic times it was called Abukir. The modern Horreya Street was called some 30 years ago Abukir Avonue or Rosetta Avenue. Even now, one to take this street to get to Abukir or Rosetta. It seoms therefore that the old Canobic Avenue retained its nomination tille the twon of Canopus changed its name to Abukir. Since that time the street by that name took the name of Abkir Street retained it till the first decades of this century. In similar manner th district of Kom el Shukafa where the famous catacaombs are situated was called in antiquity " λόφος κεραμεκός [129] " The Arabic words "Kom el Shukafa" have the literal meaning as the Greek words and mean the heap of sherds."

It is now possible to trace on the modern city the position of the main square of the city in time of Achilles Tatius because Cape Lochias (the modern Silsileh Premontory has not changed its position since the Ptolemaic period. On account of the different plan of the modern city from that of the Ptolemaic one there is now no street from Cape Lochias crossing the city. We have to imagine such latitudinal street since we have in the modern city the longitudinal one (Horreya Avenue). The main square of Tatius will be thus spot at which an imaginary street from silsileh to the lake meets Horreya Street at right angles. This spot falls on Horreya Street about 30 meters west of the Latin Cemtery.

If one takes the imaginary street from that spot and walks forward in the modern Shallalat park in the direction of Silsileh (i. e. at right angles with the Horreya Avenue, one comes after a few hunderds of yards to the quarter called after Alexander the Great"'Αλεξάνδρου τόπον'which is mentioned in the text of Achilles Tatius "'Αλεξάνδρου τόπον" It is clear from the meaning of the word "προελθών" that the vistor of Alexandria who came by the Nile and the lake port "went forward" (i. e. in the direction of Cape Lochias) after he had crossed the main square of the city and not as Neroutes translated it" dans l'interieur [130]

Achilles Tatius says that when the visitor arrived at the quarter of Alexander, he saw another town " ἄλλην πόλιν ". He means in my opinion by another town the Neapolis "Νεάπολις". the new city since we know that the Neapolis was placed on the north side of the Dromos covering the Bruchium on the Great Port.[131] It

was undoubtedly the nicest part of the city as Achilles Tatius says "σχιζόμενον ταύτῃ τὸ κάλλος, ὅσος γὰρ χιόνων ὄρχατος εἰς τὴν εὐθυωρίαν, τοσοῦτὸς ἕτερος εἰς τὰ ἐγκάρσια". This is due to the fact that it represented the ancient Royal Quarter of the Ptolemaic city as mentioned by Strabo (XVII, 1.8) and is thus worthy of the adimiration of Achilles Tatius. It is quite important to notice in the text of Achilles Tatius the distinction between the "Quarter of Alexander" and the "other town" (i.e. the Neapolis). This means that the quarter of Alexander was close to the Neapolis but quite marked from it. The two sites in any case must have fallen north of the main square as understood from the text of Tatius.

This distinction between the two sites is marked and emphasized in the post of a procurator in Roman times" Procurator Augusti Neaspoles et Mausolei Alexandriae"[132] It is is clear from this post that the the Mausoleum of Alexander was so close to the Neapolis as to allow the appointment of one proccurator for both of them tegether. Had the Neapolis Hpoils covered the whole of the new Macedonian city of Alexandria in distinction from the old twon of Rhakotis as Botti claimed (fig. 6), then as we understand from Strabo (XVII, 1, 8) the Mausolem of Alexader would have formed part of the the Neapolis since it was part of the Royal Quarter μέρος δὲ τῶν βασιλείων ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Σῆμα" I would not have expoected then the Romans to call on of their officials procurater for the Neapolis and the Mausoleum of Alexander. It would have been sufficient to call this official „ Procurator Augusti. Neaspoleos".

Similarly it is wrong, to call as Kiepert did in his map (fig. 5) the islaned of Pharos the Neapolis because unless the Mauoleum of Alexander falls on the Heptastadion itself, it would be not practical and rather unreasonable to have some official procurator of the Neapolis and that Mausololeum. The fact that the Mausoleum of Alexander cannot be on the heptastadion but is (as I have shown from the explenation of the text of Tatius) on the mainland as all anthorities also claim (although at different spots of the city) makes the responsibilities of such procurator difficult to manage if the Neapolis is the the island of Pharos. Therefore the Neapolis cannot be on Pharos but on the mainland and next to the Mausoleum as we learn from the text of Tatius and the title of the Roman official. Besides, we have never been informed that Pharos, the island, ever took in antiquity another name.

The Neapolis cannot be also as Matter claimed (fig. 2) another name for Nicopolis (Juliopolis) because we know that the Nicopolis fell outside Ptolemaic city and would have thus been separated from it by Necropolis which encirled, according to Strabo (XVII. I. 10) the whole Ptoelemaic city. If Matter is correct in his claim, the latitudial street and the main square of ancient Alexandria would have fallen outside the Ptolemaic city and outside the Necropolis of the Greek city. This means that the Mausoleum of Alexander formed apart of the Greek Necropolis. This would have been the only way (if the map of Matter is correct on that point) in order to have the Neapolis and the Mausoleum of Alexander next to one another as mentioned in the text of Achilles Tatius and confirmed in the post of the Roman procurator mentioned above. But since the main latitudinal street and the main square cannot fall outside the Necropolis of the Greek city, therefore I think that Matter is wrong in calling the Nicoplis by the name of Neapolis. One has inside the Ptolemaic city and not outside it is order to find its main square and its main latitudinai street.

The only position for the Neapolis is, as mentioned above and shown in the map of Adriani (fig. 10), north of the main square and to the left of the main latitudinal street as one approaches Cape Lochias. Since the visitor in the novel of Tatius saw the town (Neaplois) as soon as he arrived at the spot called after Alexander when he had already left the main square behind him as he walked on the main latitudinal street in the direction of the Silsileh Promontry, the quarter of Alexander must have been on his right on the site where the modern Latin Cemetery stands because the Neapolis (i. e. the other town) was on his left. [133]

There are several points in favour of view. As the Sema of Alexander, according to Strabo, formed part of the Royal Quarter we find that Latin Cemetry is also within that same quarter which extended roughly east of Cape Lochias till the Shatby Necropoils and south of the Cape till at least the Canobic Avenue (Horrey Avenue). The position'of the tomb of Alexander together with those of the Ptolemies in the Latin Cemetry would be very appropriate because it is not only close to the Royal Palaces on Cape Lochias and the living quarter of the Greeks (i.e. the Royal Quarter) but it is also (being the Necropolis for the Greek kings of Egypt) close to the neropolis of the Greeks of Alexandria, their fellow-countrymen. The Royal Necropolis thus falls between the Polemaic cemeteries of Shatbi, Ibrahimieh and Hadra which belonged to the Greek subjects of the city. Moreover the Royal

Necropolis corresponds in its date with the dates given by the different authorities to these Greek cemeterioes which are adjacent to it. The Sema of Alexander and the greater part of the Royal Necropolis belong to the third century B. C. whether of the time of Ptolemy II or Ptolemy IV. On the other hand we find that the Ptolemaic cemeteries of Shatby and Ibrahimieh go back to the early years of the third cent. B. C.[134] and the necropolis of Hadra belongs to the early part of the second cent. B. C. [135]

These conclusions of mine are further corroborated[136] by the haphasard discovery in the Latin Cemetery in the early twenties of an antechamber of an alabaster tomb of unprecedented magnificence (fig.11). In some features it recalls a tomb at Mustafa Pasha Necropolis which belongs to the IIIrd cent.[137] B.C. The construction of this room shows outstanding luxury, great riches and power because each of the three sides, the ceiling and the floor is made of one single huge and thick block of alabaster of about a moter in thicknes and three meters in legth. The room was built and not dug as in the rest of the tombs discovered in Alexandria of the Graeco-Roman period. In its material it shows an unprecedented case if not an exception in tomb construction. The discovery of that tomb shows that the site was limited to the use of outstanding persons of great wealth and authority if not of the Greek royalty. In my view, it can only be a king who can afford to construct such a tomb and to pay for the transport of such huge blocks intact from the quatties at Hammam in the Western desert to the site where the tomb stands. Such a tomb of great luxury must have not stood other less alone but together with tombs of no magnificence. It can only be part of the Royal Cemetery.

The position of the modern Latin Cemetery conforms with the statement of Zenobius (Proverbia, 94) who lived in the second cent. A.D. Zenobius places the tomb of Alexander in the middle of the city. This is correct since we know from Achilles Tatius that the quarter of Alexander was far from the middle of the latitudinal street which crossed the city from the lake port to Cape Lochias Similarly in the Roman peried in the time of Zenobius Alexandria grew bigger beause it extended further east to include the Nicopolis of Augustus. It recalls to some extent the way Alexandria of to-day extends. So the area of the city in the second cent. A. D. extended from Mex and Wardian till Mustafa Kamel and even further in the modern Remleh quarter. Excavations at Ras el Soda uncovered a Roman temple of the Antonine

period.[138] Thus we find that the position of the modern Latin Cemetery fell in the centre of the length of the Roman city of Alexandria in the second cent. A. D.

A Greek waiter claimed recently that the Sema of Alexander fell at Care de Ramleh (Ramleh Square) in Alexandria at the extention of Nabi Danial Street. This is undoutedly based on the assumption that the street of the Sema fell under Nabi Danial Street as seen in the maps of Botti (fig. 6), Adriani (fig. 10) and others, The basis for his view is wrong and I have dealt with it above. Anyhow the waiter he had no scientific grounds or reasons to offer favour of his view, and his allegations should therefore be disregarded.

NOTES

1. St. John Chrysostom in Epist. 2 ad Cor. Hom. XXVI. Tom.X. edit. Montfaucon, Paris, 1732, pp. 624,625.

2. The "Sema" means the "tomb". It appeared in the writings of Strabo and others but Pseudo-Calisthenes calls it "Soma" meaning "body", cf. , *The Geography of Strabo*"translated by H. L. Jones, (Loeb edit. in 8 vols), VIII, (1949) p. 35 note 4, E. D. Clarke, "*The Tomb of Alexander*", (Cambridg, 1805), p. 6.

3. Neroutsos-Bey, "*L'Ancienne Alexandrie, Etude archeologigue et topographique*", Paris, (1888), p.57; *J. H. S.* (1916), p. 221, n. 40; *Description de l'Egypte. Antiquites.* V, (Planches), 38,39,40; Clarke op. cit., plate opposite p. 42.

4. The precise nature of his illness is unknown, cf. J.B.Bury, "A *History of Grecce to the Death of Aalexander the Great.* (1914),.p. 821. Some say that Alexander died of Malaria, cf H.I.Bell, "*Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest*", (Oxford, 1948), p. 31' Radet, "*Alexandre le Grand*", (Paris, 1934), p.406. Another story tells us that Olympias six years after the death of Alexander accused Antipater of poisoning her son Alexander. Antipater was acting at the advice of Aristotles. The poison was put to Alexander in the cup by Iolaos, son of Antipater, cf. Radet, op. cit., p. 406; A. Weigall, "*Alexander the Great*", (London, 1935), p.344: W. says that it was Cassander. This is more likely because it seems that Cassander wished to become the master in Macedonia as fulfilled later. cf. J.P.Mahaffy, "*The Progress of Hellenism in Alexaner's Empire,*" (Chicago, 1905), p.40; W. W. Tarn, "*Hellenistic Civilisation*" (London, 2nd. edit., 1941), p.7. In *ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΝ ΕΓΚΥΚΛΟΠΑΙΔΙΚΟΝ ΛΕΞΙΚΟΝ,Β*, p. 254 : Both brothers poisoned him.

5. P. Jouguet, "*L'Egypte Ptolemaique*", (Histoire de la Natioς Egyptienne, edi. Hanotaux, Paris), p. 6 : According to the Macedonian custom, the army decided who was to be the head of the state. cf. also, A. Bouche-Leclercq, "*Histoire des Lagides*", I, (Paris), 1903, p.9.

6. B. Bevan, "*A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*", (London, 1914), p. 18; Bell, op. cit, p. 32.

7. Clarke, op. cit., pp. 44,45.

8. Pausanias, I, 6,3; Strabo, XVII, 794; R.M. Greer, "*Diodorus of Sicily*" IX, (Loeb, 1947), p. 19note 4; Psevdo-Calisthenes in C. Miller Diodottied, Scriptores Rerum Alexandri Magni, III,3.4; Jouguet, op. cit., p. 13; Mahaffy, p. 41.

9. Jouguet, op. cit., p. 13; Bevan, op. cit., pp. 12,19,18and note 2, While Arrian implies that the body was to go to Egypt, Pausanias states that the body was to be buried at Aegae in Macedonia,cf. Greer, op.cit. p. 19 n. 4.

10. Diodorus, XVIII, 23,4; Bouché-Leclercq, I, p. 18, n. 2.

11. Aelian, Var. Hist. XII, 64; LXIV; Clarke, op. cit., p. 45.

12. E. Babelon, partie (escription Historique), I, Paris, 1908, p. 1097.

13. M. Rostovtseff, "*A History of the Ancient World, I (The Orient and Greece)* translated by Duff, 2nd ed. Oxford, 1925, pp. 351—353; Bury, op. cit. pp. 828,829; Radet, op. cit., pp. 365—374; Bell, op. cit., p. 31.

14. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. pp. 352,353.

15. Bevan, op. cit., p. 12; Strabo, XVII, 814.

16. Jones, "*The Geography of Strabo*", Loeb, VIII, p. 35, note 6.

17. *ΛΕΞΙΚΟΝ 'ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΕΩΓΡΑΦ ΑΣ 'ΥΠΟ Σ. Ι. ΒΟΥΤΥΡΑ, 'ΙΑ ΒΡΕΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΦΕΙΔΔΟΥ,Ι,*

p. 308; L. Malha, in B.S.A.A, VI, fasc. 21—22—23, 1925, p. 108; Bell, op. cit. p. 32; A.M. Zogheb, "*L'Emplacement du Mausolée d'Alexandre le Grand et de la Reine Cleopatre*," Alex., 1957, pp. 2,3; Weigal, op. cit., p. 340.

18. There is some controversy regarding the correlevant date of the his illness according to the calender. Most of the histrorians place it on the first of June, cf. Bury, op. cit., p. 820; W.W. Tarn. "*Alexander the Great*" translated into Arabic by Zaki Ali, Cairo, 1963, p. 188; Weigall, op. cit., pp. 341, 342; the third of June was given by Radet op. cit., p. 403; Clarke, op. cit., p. 44; Clarke, p. 487 refers also p. 487 refers also to Vincent Nearchus, and gives the date of his illness as May 10,323 and the date of his death May 22, 323; also *ΠΑΠΑΡΡΗΓΟΠΟΥΝΟΥ, " 'ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΤΟΥ 'ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΥ 'ΕΘΝΟΥΣ,'* pp. 166, 178-179.

19. Atheneaus, X, 44; Weigall, op. cit., note I.

20. Bury, op. cit., p. 821

21. Radet, op. cit.. pp. 407, 408; Zogheb, op., cit., pp. 2,3.

22. Weigall, op. cit., p. 340; Bell, op. cit., p. 32.

23. G. Radet, op. cit., p. 408; Buché-Lecleceq, op. cit., I, p. 9

24. G. Botti, "*Fouilles à la Colonne Theodosienne*", (1896) Alex. 1897, p. 43.

25. Pausnias, 16,3; Justinus; XII, 15, 7; Bell, op. cit., p. 32; W. Otto, "*Priester und Temple*", I, p. 140.

26. In antiquity 17 cities were called after Alexander from Asia Minor til the Punjaub, Of these, ther is one in Afghanistan (Bagram). One is Carmania Goulashkird, Another is Iskanderona in Turkey and Gandahar; cf Mahaffy, op. cit. p.67; Radet, op. cit., pp. 277, 282, 285, 317; Bell, op. cit., p. 31.

27. Its building was not finished by time of Alexander's death, cf. Bell, op. cit., p. 53; Ev. Breccia, in B.S.A.A. 21, (1925), p. 385; Victor

Ehrenberg, "*Alexander und Aegypten*", 7 Beiheft zum "*Alten Orient*", Leipzig 1962, pp. 58 ff.

28. Strabo, Geography, VIII, 115, 117.

29. Breccia, B.S.A.A. 21 (1925), p. 388; Bury, op cit., pp. 817, 818; Radet, op. cit., p. 401; Jouguet, op. cit., p. 3.

30. Diodorus, XVIII, 26, 3-6; K.F.Müller, ,,*Der Leichenwagen Alexanders des Gnossen*",(Leipzig, 1905); H. Bulle, "*Der leichenwagen Alexanders,*" in Jahrbuch des Deutchen Archaologishen Instituts, 21 (1906) pp. 53—73.

31. I do not agrge with the statement of Clarke which tells that Ptolemy arrest the body of Alexander On its way to Siwa and carried it to Alexandrea" because the body was first buried at Memphis , ch. Clarke, op. cit., p. 45.

32. Pausanias, I, 6—7.

33. Athen. Mittheil. XXII, 1897, p. 187.

34. D. Hamdy Bey et T. Reinach, "*Une Necropole royale a Sidon,*" (paris) Text 1892, p. 79, figs. 28, 29, 30, platess III; XXIX and coloured plates.

35. Hamdy/Reinach, op. cit., pp. 79 ff. L. Malha, ,,*Where did Alexander the Great die and where was he buried,*" in B.S.A.A., 21, Alex. 1925, p. 101;

36. G. Mendel, "*Catalogue des Sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines,*" (Constantinople), 1912, p. 28;

37. The Sarcophagus was assigned to the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. cf. G. Richter, "*The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*" London, 2 nd ed. 1946, pp. 13,47, 112, 125, 219; A. W. Lawrence "*Classical Sculpture* London, 278; E.A. Gardner, "*A Handbook of Greek Sculpture,* London, 1920, pp. 446—469.

38. Bouché-Leclercq, I, p. 20, and n. 3.

39. Boucné Leclerq, I. pp. 20 and .n. 4;

40. Jouguet. op. cit., p. 11, Bevan, op. cit., p. 22; Bouché, Leclerq, I, pp. 14,15

41. O. Rubensohn, "*Alexander des Grossen in Hemphis*", in B.S.A.A. 12 ,1019 pp. 83 ff., cf : also Jones, op cit., pp. 35. n. 6.

42. Rubensohn, op cit, p. 86. "Das grab in Memphis sollte nach Soter Ansicht die dauerende Grabstatte Alexanders sein. Desaen ist uns Zeuge der ans Grab in Memphis eingerichtete Kultus des Gottes Alexander dessen Bergründung durch Ptolemaios Soter Jetzt durch die El-Hibeh und die Elephantin, Papyri fetsteht.

43. W.W.Tarn, "*Alexander the Great*', II, "*Sources and Studies,*" Cambridge, 1948, p. 349, and note 2.

44. Plato, Laws, 738 C and Alcib. 11, 148 E 149 B, Strabo , XVII, 1,5 (790), Aristophanes, Birds, Birds, 619, 716.

45. Tarn, op. cit., p. 349 and notes 5,6.

46. Beran, op. cit. pp. 8,9, 10 and n. I, p. 12; Bouché-Leclercq, I, p. 19.

47. Tarn, op. cit., pp. 348, 350.

48. Th. Schaiber, *Studien uber Bildniss Alexanders das Grossen*",Leipzig.1903, p. 260; G. Lumbruso, ,,*L'Egitto dei Greci e dei Romani*", I, 1895, p.177, and n Lucian, Dial. Mort, 13.3

49. Zenobius, Proverbia, III; 94; Achilles Tatius, V, I;

50. H. Thiersch, "*Die alexandrinische Konigsnekropole*", in Jahrbuch des Instiuts, XXV, (1910), pp. 55 ff.

51. Pausanias 1. 6. ff.

52. Jouget, op. cit., p. 14; Bocuhé/Leclercq, I pp. 23, 24; Diodorus, 18, 33 ff; Jones, op. cit., p. 37, note I; Bevan, op. cit., p. 23.

53. Strabo, XVII, I. 8-9.

54. Clarke, op. cit., p. 13 and refernces.

55. Quintus Curtius, IV, 6, 29; Lucan, Pharsal X.

56. Suetonius, "*History of* 12 *Caesars*", translated by Ph. Holland, edited by J. H. Freese, (London), 1930, p. 70 *a* 18; Dio Cassius, 51; 16.

57. Suetonius, op. cit., in Coligla, 62.

58. Dio Casius, XV, 81; Botti, ,,*Fouilles'a Colonne Theodosienne*," (Alex. 1897) p.44.

59. Herodiani Hist. ed. Hist. Rom. Script. H. Steph. 1568, IV, 15.

60. *ΛΕΞΙΚΟΝ 'ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΑΣ 'ΥΠΟ ΒΟΥΤΥΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΦΕΙΔΑΟΥ*, I, p. 302; Thiersch, op. cit., pp. 72-73, and notes 53-54.

61. Iskander Zool Karneen most probably is the same as Alexander the Great for several reasons : a) On the coins of Alexander the Great, the king was represented wearing the two horns of Ammon. These coins were circulating widely in Europe, Africa and Asia. Even some of the satraps of his Empire, after his death issued cions with their heads wearing two horns. Before Alexander, there was no representation on the cions of any human wearing the horns. b) Alexander had a very vast Empire which correspons to the vast rule of Iskander as Known in the Koraan. c) Alexander was revered widely by the peeple of his Empire that till now the legend of Iskandar servives in the Iranian world, cf. Rostovtzeff op. cit, p. 353; *ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΝ ΛΕΞΙΚΟΝ*, *Β*, p. 268

62. *ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΝ ΛΕΞΙΚΟΝ*, B, pp. 256, 258.

63. ibid, p. 258.

64. *ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΝ ΛΕΞΙΚΟΝ* B, p. 256; *'ΕΓΚΥΚΛΟΠΑΙΔΙΚΟΝ ΛΕΞΙΚΟΝ*, I, p. 756.

65. *ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΝ ΛΕΞΙΚΟΝ* B, p. 256.

66. Clarke, op. cit., p. 41. ff. the plate opposite p. 42; J.H.S., 1916, p. 221, note 40. This sarcophagos was thought to have belonged to the Pharoah Amyrtaeus of the 28 *th* Dynasty, ch. Malha, op. cit., pp. 93, 94. Neroutsos Bey, L'Ancienne Alexandria, p. 57.

67. Wace, however favoured the view of considering it the Sarcophagus of

Nectanebo II (Necht-har-heb) and that in it the body of Alexander the Great was placed cf. A.J.B. Wace, *"The Sarcophagus of Alexander the Great"*, in the Bulletins of the Faculty of Arts, Farouk I. University, IV, 1948 pp. 6. 7.

68. D. Clarke, *"Alexandrea ad Aeguptum, A Survey"* in the Bulletin of the Faculty of arts, Farouk I University, V, 1949, p. 103.

69. Rubensohn, op. cit., 86. Pausanias, I. 6. 3.

70. Mahmoud Bey, (L'Astronome), *"Memoire sur l'Antique Alexandrie,"* Copenhage 1872, p. 50.

71. Neroutsos, Étude, pp. 56. 57.

72. Zogheb, op. cit., pp. 18. 19.

73. Botti, *"Fouilles a la Colonne Thiodosienne"*, p. 46.; G. Botti, Plan de la Ville d'Alexandrie à l'époque Ptolemaique, 1898, p. 38.

74. Hogarth, *"Archaeological Report of Egypt Exploration Fund,"* 1894/5, pp. 18 ff.

75. Thiersch, op. cit., pp. 80 ff.

76. Ev. Breccia, *"La Tomba di Alexandro Magno"*, in B.S.A.A., (24), 1929 p.208; Ev. Breccia, *"Alexandrea ad Aeguptm"*,1922, p, 99; Breccia, B.S.A.A :, (25), VII, *2nd* fasc., 1930, p. 208.

77. Adriani, Encyclopedia dell'Arte Antica, 1960, map on p. 205.

78. Bevan, Jouguet Forster, Malha. Demista are among those who believed that the tomb of Alexander falls under the Mosque of Nabi Danial, Wace also seems be of the same opinion, for he excavated also at Kom-el-Dik in 1944/5.

79. Clarke, op. cit., p. 61. and note *"S"* for references; p. 79 and references, p. 80 for other travellers, cf. pp. 80-84; Neroutsos, op. cit., p. 57; Breccia, Alex. ad, Aeg., p. 99; Malha, op. cit., p. 94.

80. Strabo, XVII, 1.8.

81. *ΕΓΚΥΚΛΟΠΑΙΔΙΚΟΝ ΛΕΞΙΚΟΝ* pp. 736 ff; Clarke, op. cit., p.74.

82. I examined that tomb myself and found nobody buried in it.

83. E. Amelineau, *"La Geographie de l'Egypte à l'Epoque Copte"* Paris 1893, pp. 33, 34;

84. Mahmoud Bey , op. cit., pp. 50, 51.

85. Neroutsos, Étude, p. 56 and n. I., Mahmoud Bey , op. cit., p 52. Both of them took it for the Arabic word "Demas".

86. Neroutsos, Étude, p. 56., Zogheb, Emplacement, p. 10, n. 4.

87. H.W.M. Parr, *"Plutarch's Life of Alexander"*, translated by T. North, London, 1934, p. 1.

88. Breccia,,,*Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*", p. 99.

89. Breccia, B.S.A.A. Nr. 24 (1929), pp. 207.

90. A. Adriani,"*Annuario del Museo Greco-Roman*", I (1932-33) pp. 19ff, 35 ff.

91. Wace, directed the excavations of the Universityof Alexandria (formeryl Farouk I university) at Kom-el-Dik in 1944-45.

92. Michalowski began since 1959 the excavations at Kom-el-Dik and the work is still continuing. The Greco-Roman-museum is sharing this year in the operations in the area.

93. E. Michalowski, "*Rapport sur la Prospection du Terrain dans la Regino de la Mosquee de Nabi Daniel* in bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Alexandria university, 1958, pp. 37, 38.

94. Achilles, Tatius, V, 1-4.

95. Achilles Tatius, translated by s. Caselee, (Loeb ed. 1917) p. VIII. t,

96. Pauiy / Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classichen Altertumswissenschaft, Stutgart, 1894 I, p. 245.

97. R.C. Jebb in L. Whibley, "*A Companion to Greek Studies*", (2 *nd* ed. Cambridge, 1906. p. 161.

98. O. Seyfert "*A Dictionary of Classical Antiquities,*" revised, Nettleship and Sandys, Lodon, 1881 p. 4.

99. W. Smith, "*A Classical Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography,* exc.", revised by G. E. Marindin, Londeon, 1932, p. 9. "*Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biegraphy and Mythology*", I, London 1850 p. 11.

100. J. G. Millne,"*A History of Egypt under Roman Rule*", (3 *rd* ed. 1924, p. 76.

101. Strabo, XVII I, 8; Thiersch, pp. 55-96; Adriani, Encyclopedia, p. 212; Breccia, "*Alex.* ad. *Aeg.*", (1922) pp. 97-98.

102. Since the Necropolis of the ordinary Greeks contained partks as Strabo tells us, we must expect therefore the Royal Necropolis to contain salso a park.

103) W. Schubart,"*Aegpten von Alexander den grossen his auj mohamed*", Berlin (1922) p. 3; D. G. Hogarth, "Alexander in Egypt and some consequences", in J.E.A., II, 1916, P. 55.

104. Malala, Chron. 122; Breccia "*Alex. ad Aeg.*" p. 28.

105. E.A. Parsons, "*The Alexandrian Library, Glory of the Hellenic world*", London, (1952) map after p. 74.

106. Parsons, op. cit., it is the following map next to p. 74.

107. W. Smith, "*Dictionary of Greek and Geography*" I, London, 1870, plan on p. 96.

108. Botti, "Pian de la ville d'Alexandrie", 1989, p. 5. He considers th 4 gates to have belonged to the Macedonian city. He shows the Porta-Solis close to the lake.

109. Milne, op. cit. p. 50.

110. H. Kiepert, *"Atlas Antiqutuus"* Berlin, (Dietrich Reimer), 1892, Tab,

111. Neroutsos, Etude, map at the end of the book.

112. E.M. Forster, *"Aleaxndria, A History and Guide"*, Alex. 1938, map opposite part II guide.

113. A.M. Zogheb, *"Études sur l'ancienne Alexandrie"*, paris, 1910, p. II and also note 6. cf. also the plan of Alexadria: Zogheb, L'Emplacment, p. 8, n. 2; cf. Jones, op. 'cit., map III.

114. Breccia, *"Alex. ad Aeg."*; p. 12.

115. Strabo, XVII, 793 cf. also the map of Egypt and Delta in J. H. Breasted, *"A History of Egypt from the ealiest times to times to the Persion Conquest*, London, 1906; A. Moret, "Au Temps des Phroahs", map.

116. *ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΝ ΛΕΞΙΚΟΝ* op. cit, p. 226.

117. Milne, op. cit., p. 50; Kiepert, op. Tab. III; Botti, p. 5 and map Malala; Chron. 122

118. Jouget, op. cit., map on p. 212.

119. Forster, op. cit. map next to part II the Guide.

120. Adriani, Encyclopedia, fig. 298.

121. Neroutsos, *"Notice sur le Fouilles recentes" executees a Alexandrie* (1814-1875), 1875, pp. 3-4

122. *'ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ ΛΕΞΙΚΟΝ*, 1869, p. 292.

123. Mahmoud Bey, p. 18.

124. Weigall, or. cit., p. 208.

125 Berccia *"Alexandrea ad Aegyptum,"* p. 12.

126. Botti in his map put this Canobic Avenue still nearer to lake Mareotis almost on the railway line. I do not agree with Botti for the reason I gave in the text in favour of Falaki map (i. e. that of Mahmoud Bey).

127. M. G. Jondet, *"Les Ports antiques de Pharos"* in B.S.A.A. 14, (1912) pp. 169. ff; Fouilles de Danionos Pasha à Aboukir en 1896.

128. A. Adriani, Annuaire du Musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexndrie (1935-39), pp. 137-148.

129. Botti, *"Fouille dans la Ceramieue d'Alexandrie"* in B.S.A.A., I, 1898, p.6.

130. Neroutsos, L'ancienne Alexandrie, Etude, p. 8.

131. Ausfeld, "*Neapolis und Brucheion*". in Pnilologus LVIII, pp. 481-497; Ibrahim Noshy, *History of Egypt under the Ptolemies*, II", Anglo Press in Arabic, 1960, p. 287; cf. also Pauly-Wissowa, 16-3 p. 2130 n. 24: "Benennung eines Stadteils von Alexandria, nicht wie man Fruner annahm des gesantgebietes des griechenstadt von Alexndria, nicht wie man Frucher annah des gesantgebietes des griechchenstadt im Gegensatz zum eingeboreçe Viertel Rhakoties, Sondern eines wesentlich mit Brucheion sicn deckenden Teils am Grossen Hafen auf der Nordseite des Dromes in der einstegen Regia, der vielleicht nach erserungen in alexandrinischen Krieg Caesars die Bezeichunng N. erhielt", cf. also the map of Adriani, Encyclodia, fig, 298 on. 205, cf Botti, "*Plan de la ville* d'A*lexandrie a l'epoque Ptolemai que*", 1898, pp. 5, 6.

132. C.I.L. VI$_I$, p. p. I 8934; XIII, p. I, 1808; cf. also Ausfeld, op. cit., pp. 481 ff.

133. Pauly-Wissowa; wa, p. 2130, nr. 24.

134. Breccia, in Bull.See. Arch. Alex. VIII, 100, IX 100, Thiersch, op cit., p. 57

135. Pagenstecher, A.J. A. (1909) p. 416; Thiersch, op. cit., p. 57.

136 I must adimit that I am not the first to consider the Latin Cemetery the site of the Sema of Alexandder because Prof. Adriani came to the same conclusions in a talk deliverd in Alexandria two years ago. I was not lucky because I missed the talk and Prof. Adriani is aware of that. In his answer to a letter of mine sent two months ago Prof. Adriani wrote that the had not yet published his talk and is going to publish it in connection with the topography of Alexandria on which he is at present working. I will be glad to see on what ground Prof. Adriani has come to these conclusions.

137. A. Adriani "*Annuaire Musée Greco-Romain d'Aexandrie*" (1935-39), 1940, pp. 32; Adriani, Encyclopedia p. 210, fig. 305.

138. A. Adriani, "*Annuaire de Greco-Romain*" (1935-1939), p. 147.

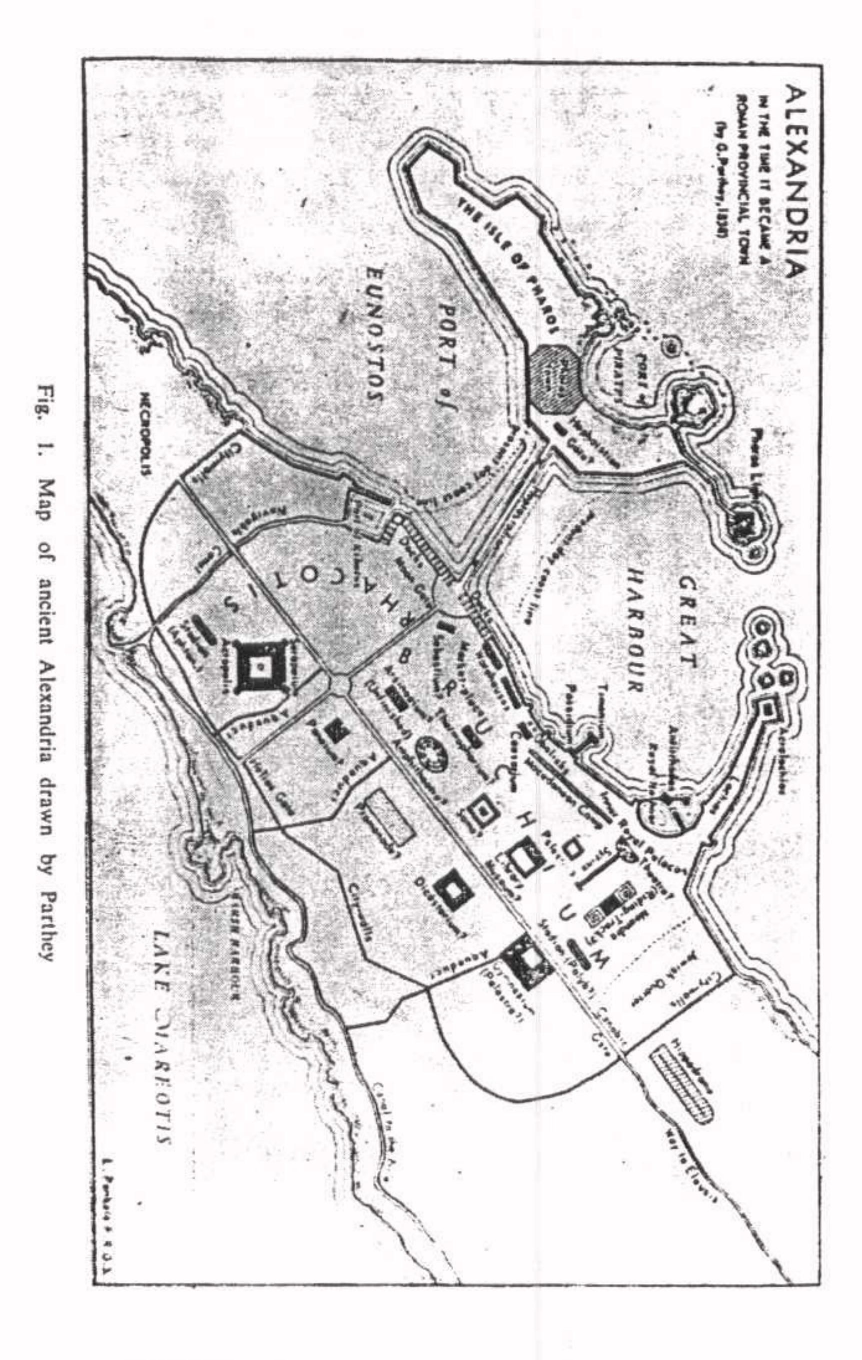


Fig. 1. Map of ancient Alexandria drawn by Parthey



Fig. 2. Map of Ancient Alexandria drawn by Matter

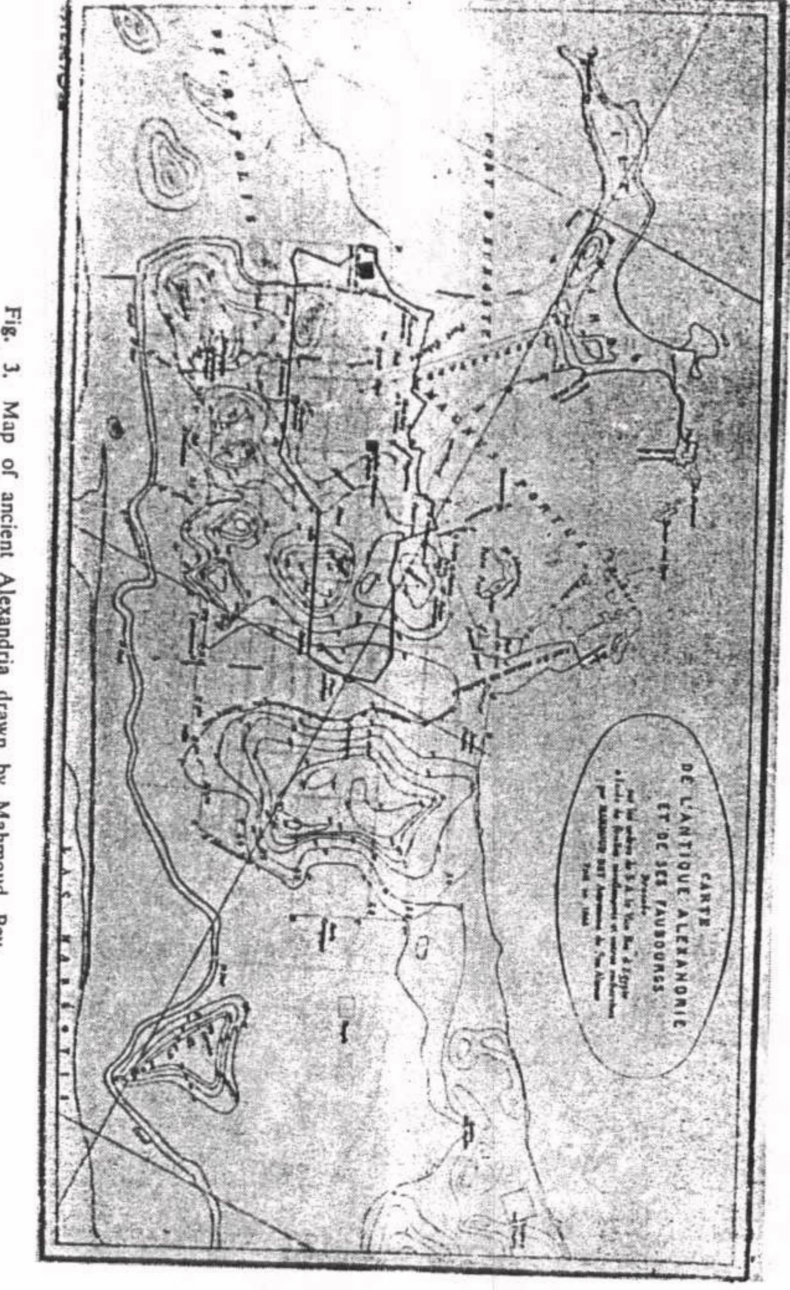


Fig. 3. Map of ancient Alexandria drawn by Mahmoud Bey

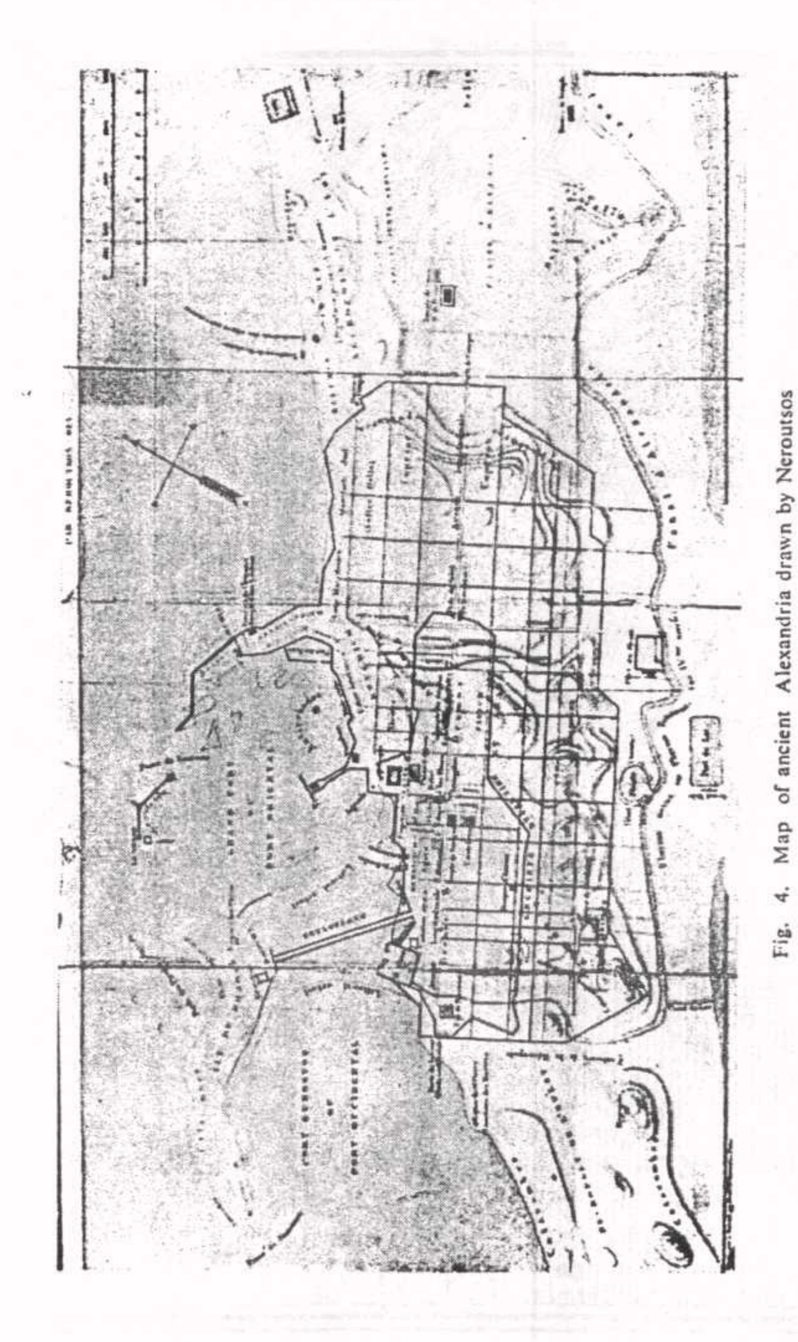


Fig. 4. Map of ancient Alexandria drawn by Neroutsos

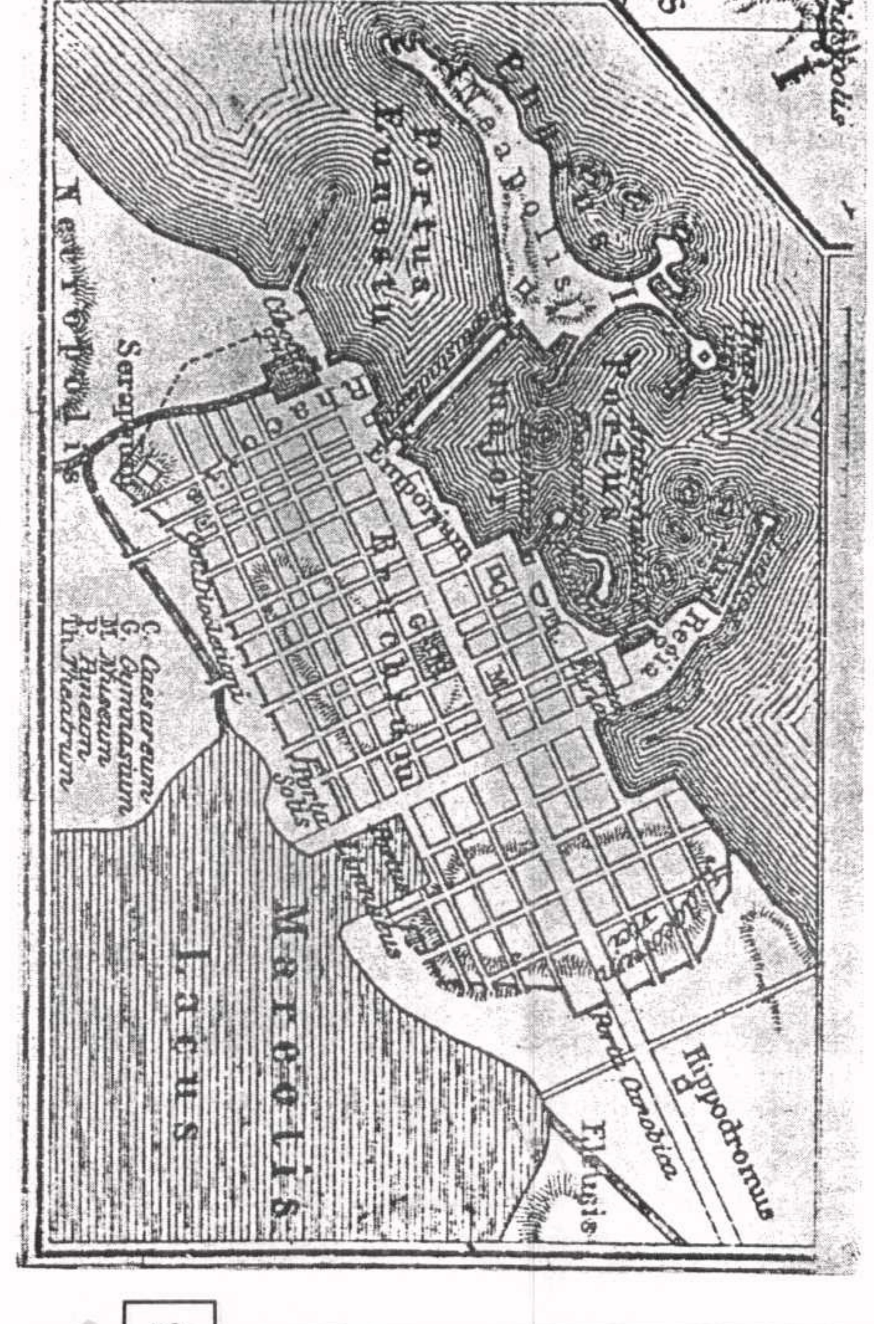


Fig. 5. Map of ancient Alexandria drawn by Kiepert

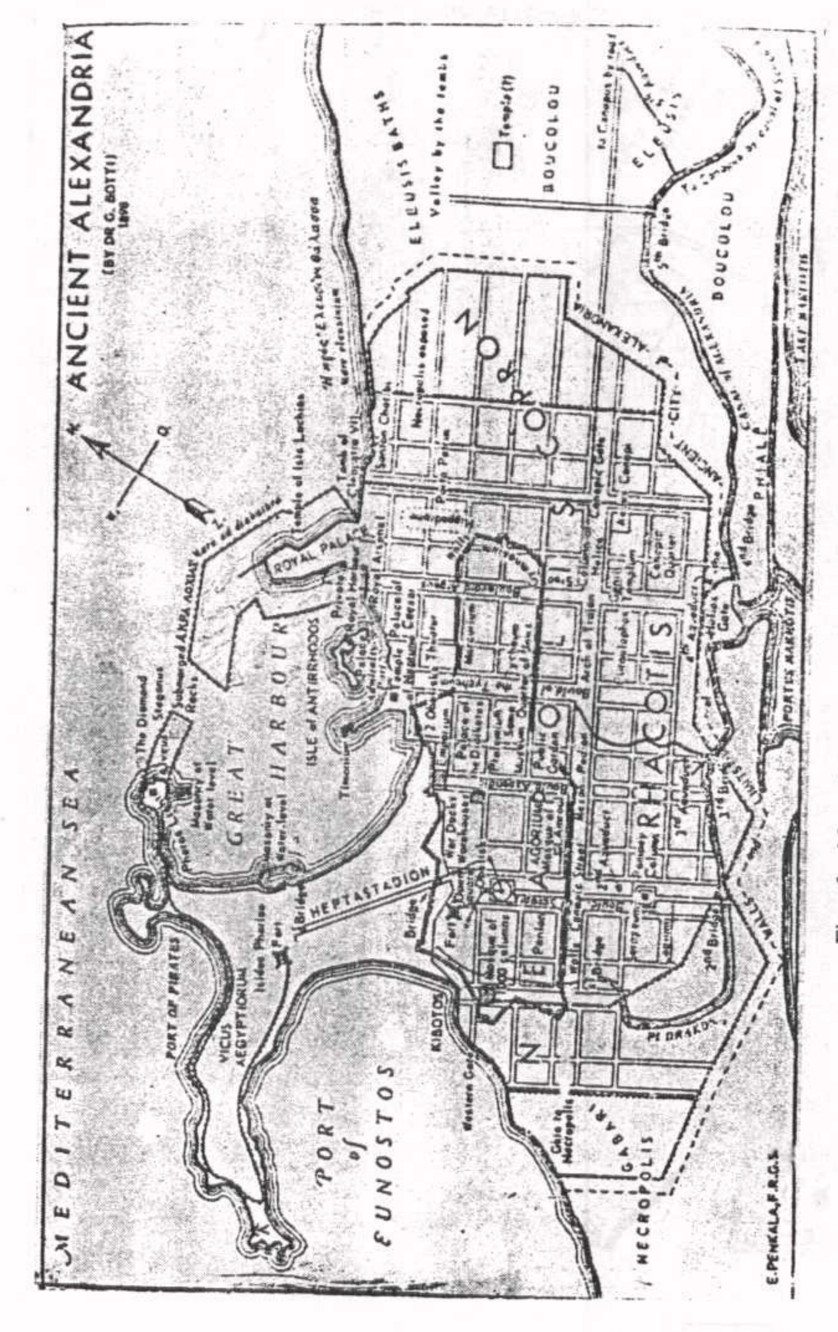


Fig. 6. Map of Ancient Alexandria drawn by Botti

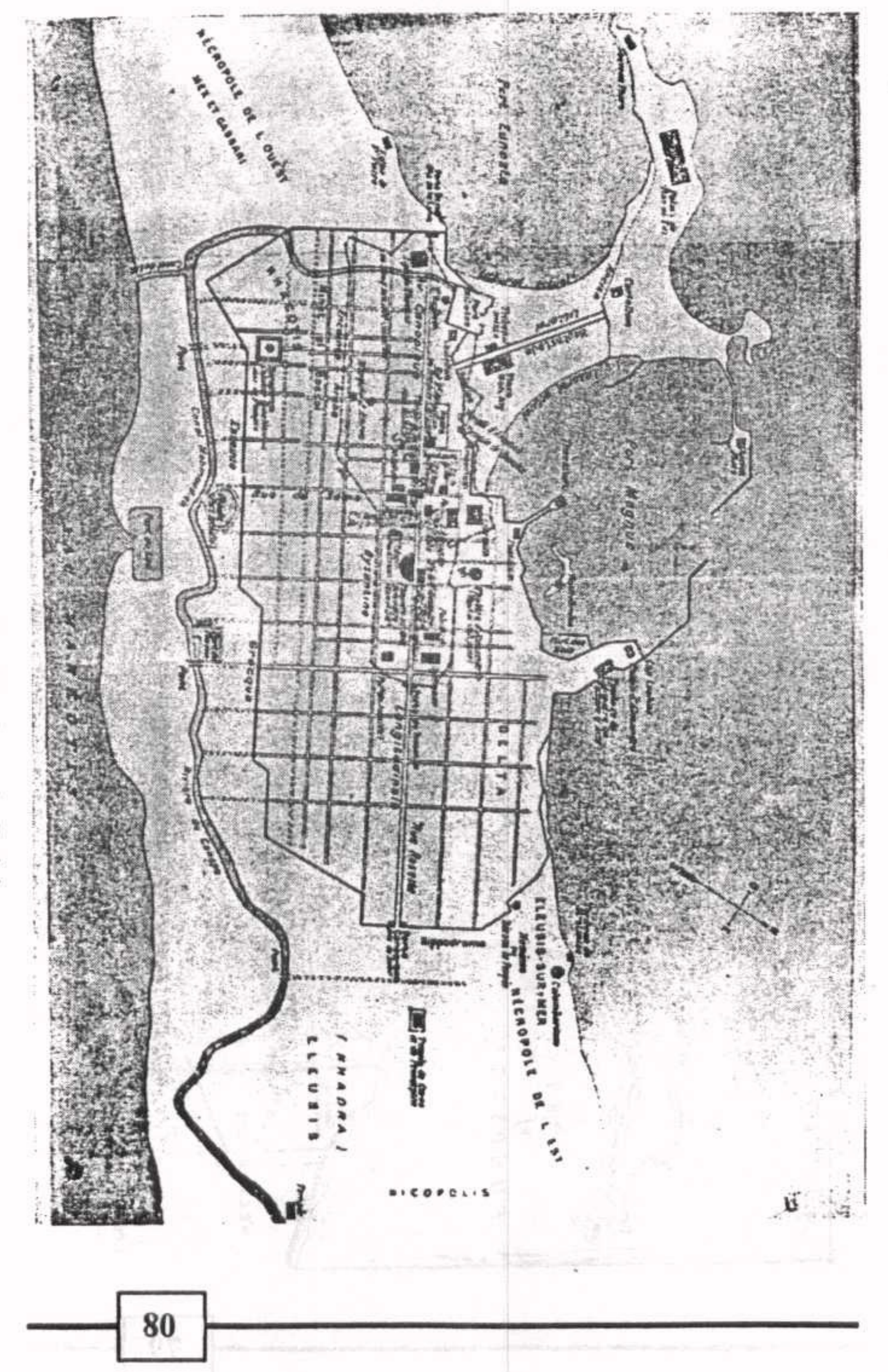


Fig. 7. Map of ancient Alexandria drawn by Zogheb

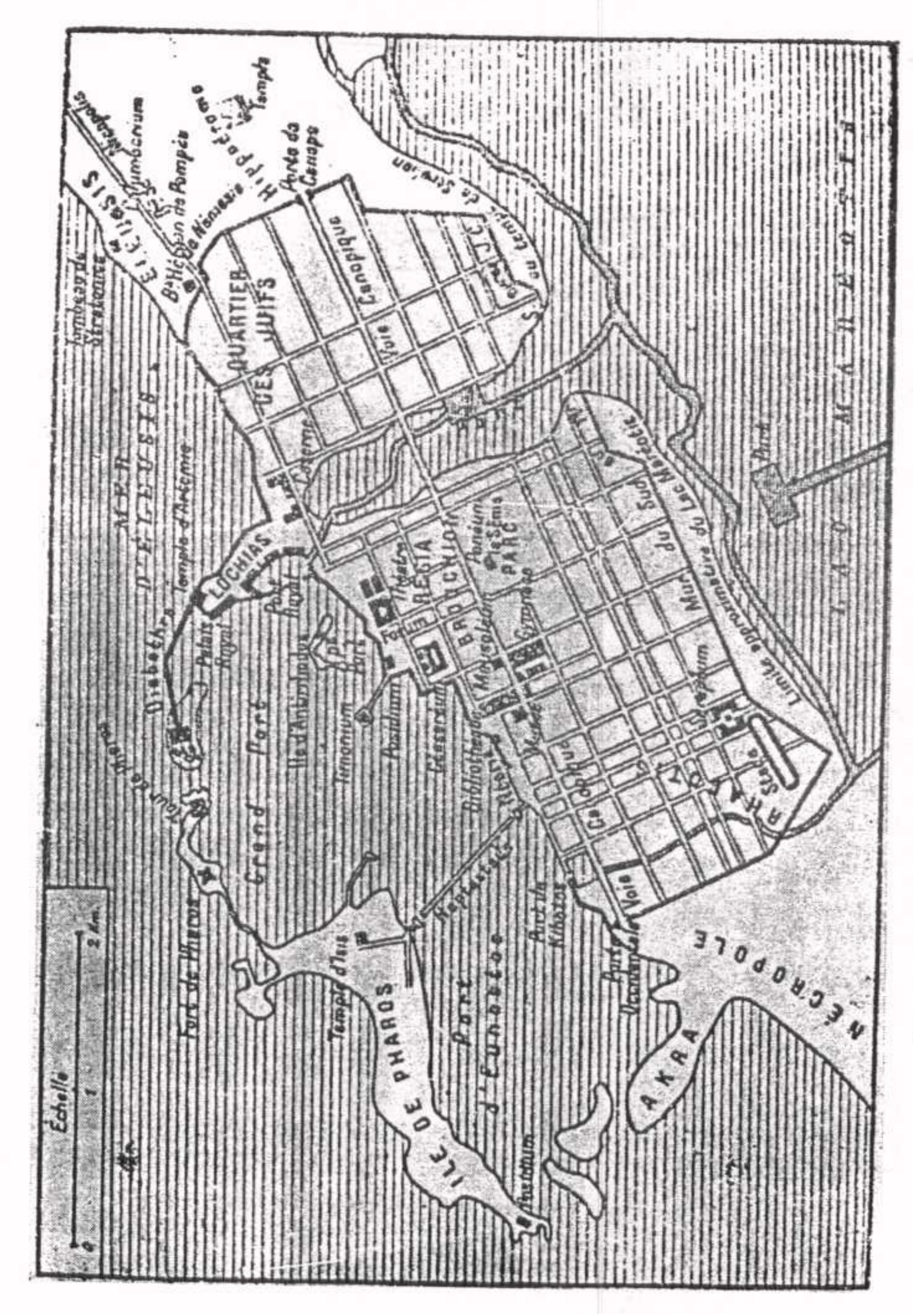


Fig. 8. Map of Ancient Alexandria drwn by Jouget after Mahmoud Bey

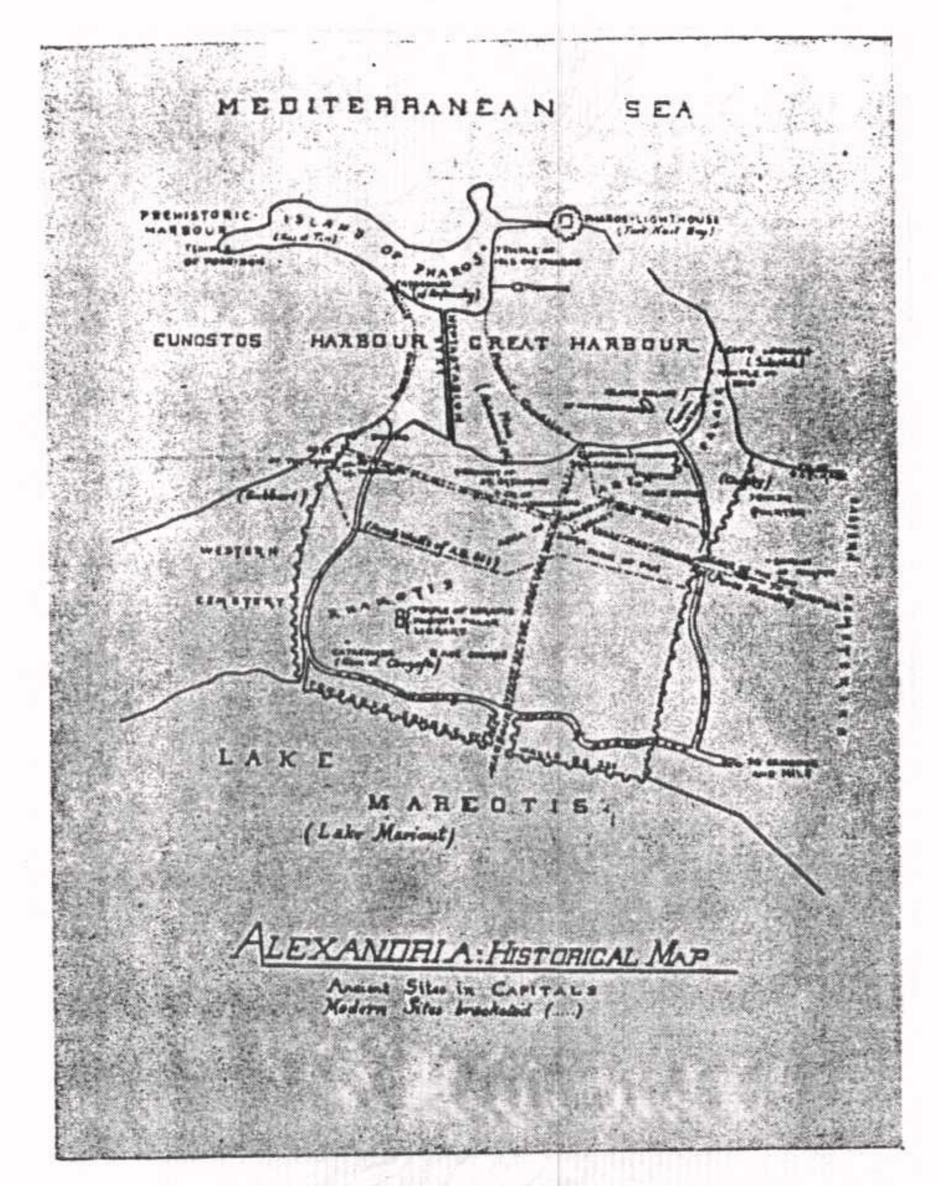


Fig. 9. Map of Ancient Alexandria drawn by Forster

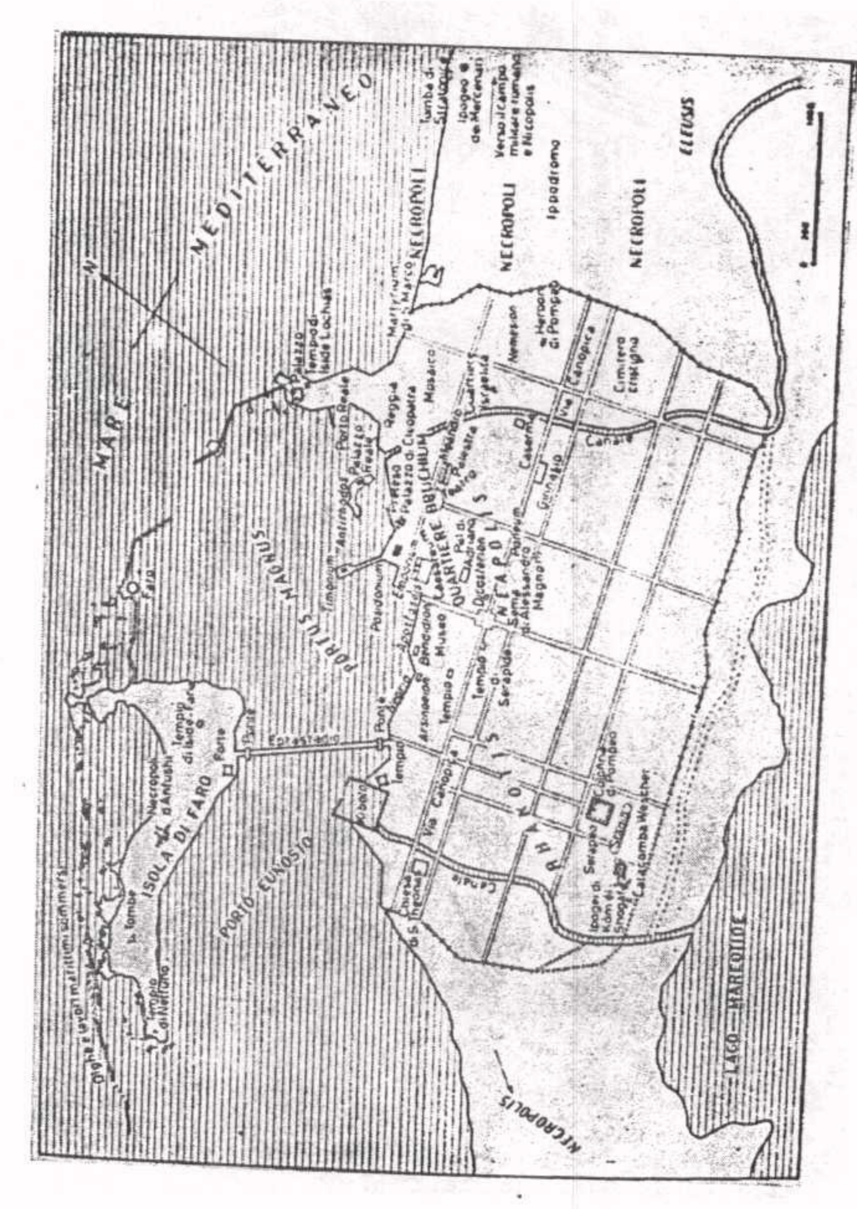


Fig. 10. Map of Ancient Alexandria drawn by Adriani

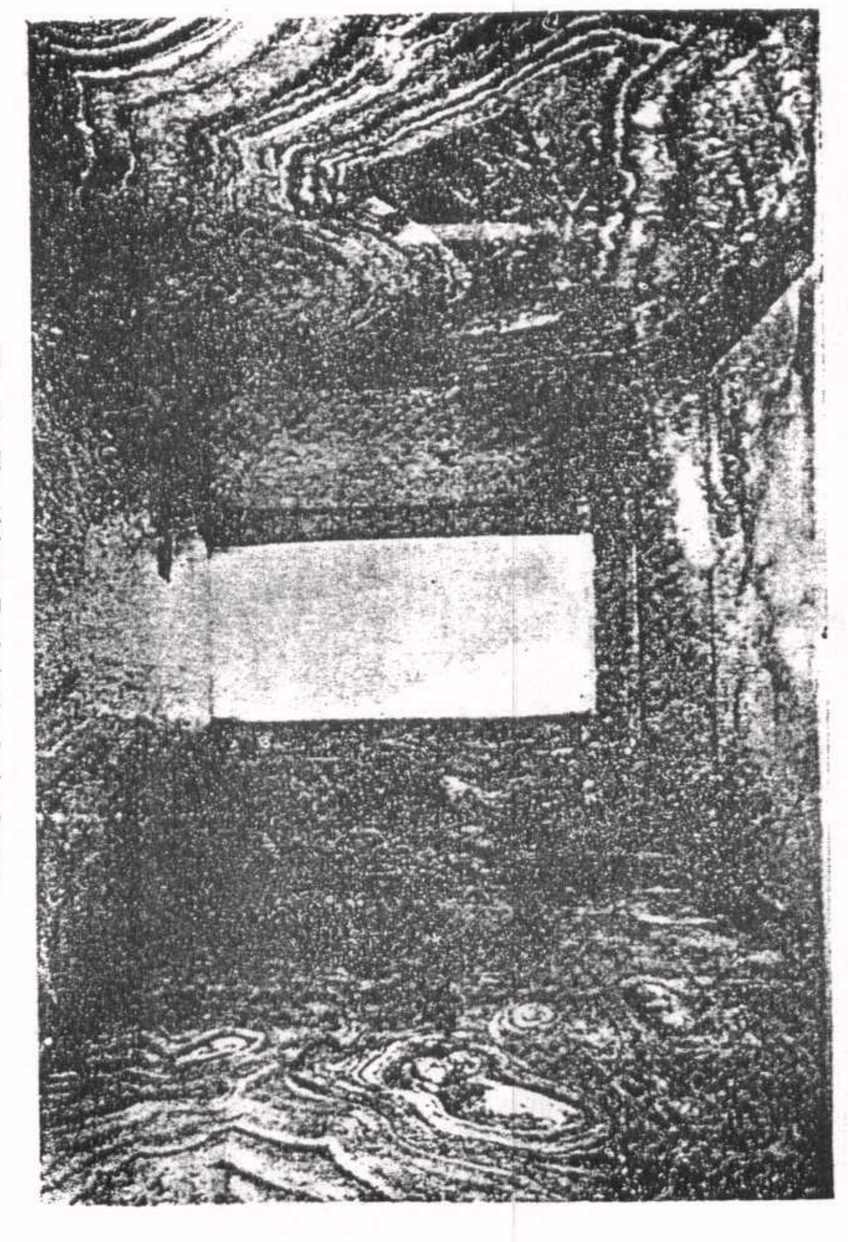


Fig. 11. The Alabaster Tomb in the Latin Cemetery

Sculptured Heads of Alexander the Great in the Graeco- Roman Musuem, Alexandria - Egypt

By

Ahmed Ghazal

SCULPTURED HEADS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN MUSUEM, ALEXANDRIA - EGYPT(1)

By

AHMED GHAZAL

In Egypt, where the deified Alexander was buried in Alexandria(2), the Greeks, who owed their ascendancy to his feats, made many statuettes of him from marble as well as limestone heads, and dedicated them, either to his cult or as a kind of divine honour, which were paid to the Great Conqueror during the Ptolemaic period. They made offerings of these dedicated statuettes at his magnificient tomb(3), or kept them in their houses to emphasize their devotion to the Great Conqueror.

In the Graeco-Roman Museum of Alexandria, there is a group of heads of these statuettes or portraits which still need a more complete and satisfactory interpretation. In this article, I will try to give a commentary on the subject in the light of new findings, stressing on the comparison between them and the others in and outside of Alexandria.

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(1) I am indebted to Prof. M. Awwad Husein, the Chairman of the Department of Classical Archaeology of Alexandria University, giving me the opportunity to go to Greece to write this article. I am also grateful to Prof. N. Kontoleon who made many valuable corrections and suggestions. My thanks are also due to Dr. Henri Riad and the staff of the Graeco-Roman Museum for kindly giving me the permission to take the photographs attached to this article and for their assistance in more than one way.

(2) For the tomb of Alexander the Great in Alexandria, see an article by El-Fakharani, F., Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Alexandria, vol. XVIII, 1964. pp. 169 — 199, and references.

(3) Schreiber, Th. Studien über das Bildins Alexanders des Grossen, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 41.ff., pl. III—IV; Bernoulli, J.J., Die erhaltenen Darstellung Alexanders des Grossen, München, Bruckmann, 1905, pp. 34 ff., figs. 5 — 8; Gebauer, K., in Athen. Mitt., 63 — 64 (1938 — 39) pp. 33 ff., pls. 6 — 14; Bieber, M., The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age, Columbia, New York, 1961, p. 90; Id., Alexander the Great in the Greek and Roman Art, Chicago, 1964, pp. 56 — 57.

1 — (Fig. 1 — 3) (4)

Head of Alexander in marble. H. : 0.23 m. Found in 1941 at El-Kom-el-Ahmar (Beheira). Alexandria Graeco - Roman Museum, No. 28094.

The head is slightly inclined to its right. The hair is only sketchily executed, but it strongly shows the rising lion's mane falling over the sides of the forehead. There is a trace of a band extending around the head to hold the hair. On the top of the head there are also three small holes. The lower part of the forehead is slightly bulging, the nose is straight with chipped tip, the lips are full and slightly parted, while the cheeks and the parts around the mouth are subtiy modelled.

2 — (Fig. 4) (5)

Head of Alexander in marble. H. : 0.115 m. found in Alexandria. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, No. 3402.

The head is inclined to its right and the neck is slightly bent. The greater part of the nose and the lower part of the neck and the body are restored. The hair, instead of the *ἀναστολὴ τῆς κόμης*, is rather bushy in front, falling down over the forehead more than usual. There is a band extending around the head to hold the hair, which flows down over the ears and along the neck on the neck. The nose is straight, and the lips are full and narrow.

3 — (Fig. 5) (6)

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(4) Not previously published.

(5) Schreiber, Th., op. cit., pp.41 ff., pl. I B; Bernoulli, J.J., op.cit., pp. 35—36, figs. 5 — 6; Breccia, E., Alexandria ad Aegyptum, Palermo, 1922, p. 186, fig. 22; Bevan, E., A history of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty. London, 1927, fig. 3, p. 5; Suhr, E., Sculptured portraits of Greek statesmen with a special study of Alexander the Great, Oxford, 1931, pp. 95 — 96; Graindor, P., Bustes et Statues-Portraits d'Egypte Romaine, Le Caire, 1936, p. 73, pl. XXII, b.;
دليل آثار الاسكندرية ، اعداد هنرى رياض وآخرين ، مراجعة داود عبده داود .
الاسكندرية ، ١٩٦٦ ، ص ١٠١ ، شكل ٢٧ .

6. Breccia, E., Rapport sur la marche du service du musée pendant les années 1910 — 1911, p. 18, pl. VIII, fig. 25; Id., Alexandria ad Aegyptum, pp. 175 — 176; Lawrence, J.E.A. 11 (1925) pl. XXI.

Head of Alexander in coarse-grained white marble. Found in Rosetta street, Aleandria. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, No. 19118. (A gift from Baron de Mênasce in 1911).

The face is slightly turned to its right. The hair is rising over the middle of the forehead and falls in a thick mass of curls on each side, especially, the left side of the head. There is a hole in the top of of the head. The forehead is almost divided in half due to the strong projection in the lower part, the eyes are upturned and deep-set, the nose tip is missing, and the lips are not well defined.

4 — (Fig. 6) (7).

Head of Alexander in red granite. H. : 0.43 m. Found in Antoniades, Alexandria. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, No. 3242.

It has the usual bend of the neck and the face with the right turn, but it differs from the preceding heads in its left side. The thick mass of the hair is largely worked and arranged,and falls with exaggeration on each side onto the neck, covering the ears. Instead of the ἀναστολὴ τῆς κόμης there is a lock stretching horizontally accross the centre of the forehead. There is a large hole in the top of the head, which Schreiber supposes to hove an uraeus, but Breccia thinks it more probable to be an Ammon Crown. The nose is broken off.

5 — (Fig. 7) (8)

Marble head of Alexander. H. ; 0.053 m. Found in Alexandria. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, No. 3403.

The bend of the neck and the slight turning of the face are in the opposite direction, to the left. The upraised lion's mane rises over the middle of the forehead and falls with arranged curls on each side.

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(7) Botti; G., Catalogue des monuments exposes au Musée Greco-Romain d'Alexandrie, 1900, p. 522; Schreiber, Th. op. cit., pp. 46 ff., pl. III E; Breccia, Ev., op. cit., p.176,No.17; Suhr, E., op. cit., p.130,Noshy, I., The Arts in Ptolemaic Egypt, London, 1937, p. 124, pl. XIV, 1;Gebauer, K. op. cit., p. 50; Adriani, A., Testimonianze e Momenti di Scultura Alessandrina, II, 1948, p. 16, pl. XII, 4.

(8) Breccia, E., op. cit., p. 186. دليل آثار الاسكندرية ، ص ٩٧ .

There is a band extending around the head to hold the hair, and like the other heads, there is a hole in the top of the head just behind the ἀναστολή. The nose is straight with chipped tip. The lips are full and short and slightly parted. The parts around the mouth are subtly modelled, and the cheeks elongated.

6 — (Fig. 6) (9).

Marble head of Alexander. H. : 0.17 m. Found in Alexandria. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, No. 3404.

The face is slightly turned to its right and also bend of the neck is represented. The hair is rising over the middle of the forehead and parted in the cêntre into two symmetrical short locks, falling on each side. There is a hole behind the ἀναστολή. The nose is straight with chipped tip. The lips are slightly parted and the cheeks are elongated

7 — (Fig. 9) (10)

Marble head of Alexander. H. : 0.21 m. Circumstances of discovery are unknown. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, No. 3405.

It has the turned face and the bend of the neck to the right. The hair is rising over the middle of the forehead and represented in a short low-lying manner. There is a hole in the top of the head. The lower part of the forehead is bulging. The nose is straight and chipped off. The lips are full and separated and the cheeks are elongated and subtly modelled.

8 — (Fig. 10) (11)

(9) Schreiber, Th., op. cit., pp. 46 ff., pl. III, f.; Breccia, E., op. cit. p. 186; Suhr, E., p. 101;
دليل آثار الاسكندرية ، ص ١٠٢ .

(10) Schreiber, Th., op. cit., pp. 46 ff., pl. III, f.; Breccia, E., loc., cit.,
دليل آثار الاسكندرية ، ص ١٠٢ .

(11) Schreiber, Th., op. cit., pp. 46 ff., fig. 6; Breccia, E., loc. cit.; Suhr, E., op. cit., p. 102.

Head of Alexander in white limestone. H. : 0.12 m. Found in Alexandria. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, No. 3406.

The head is of sketchy workmanship. The face is slightly turned to its right. The unfinished hair rises over the middle of the forehead and falls in rough way on each side. The eyes are large, the nose is straight and its tip is broken off, and the lips are full and narrow, roughly parted. The cheeks are somewhat elongated. There is a trace of colour on the stone.

* * *

There is no dout that the fine head No. 1 (Figs. 1 — 3) could be considered one of the best heads in the Graeco-Roman Museum of Alexandria. It reveals the characteristic features of Alexander in heavy brows, deep-set eyes and fiery glance. The ἀναυτολὴ τῆς κόμης of Alexander, especially noted by Aelian (12) and also by Plutarch (13), is well represented. There is a great emphasis on all the features of the head in order to accentuate their importance.

The two profiles (Figs 2 — 3) resemble that on the two Cameos found in Alexandria, and one of them is now in Leningrad, while the second is in Vienna(14). They also resemble that on the coins of Ptolemy I, dated in the early Ptolemaic period(15), but the expression is much softer and the modelling less vigorous. The hair somewhat resembles that of a statuette found in Priene dedicated to the cult of Alexander and dated c. 300 B.C. (16).

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(12) Var. Hist. XII, 14,

(13) Alex. II. 2.

(14) Bernoulli, J.J., op. cit., pp. 126—131, pls. IX, I, VIII,I, Noshy, I., op. cit., p. 110, pl. XII, 1 (The Cameo of Vienna); Bieber, M., op. cit.., pp. 57 — 5?, figs. 3 — 4. These portraits wrongly interpreted as Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II (Noshy, I., loc., cit.), but Bieber recently said that they are the portraits of Alexander and his mother Olympias, who was allowed to share the divine honours in Alexandria with her son.

(15) *Σβόρωνος, I. N., Τὰ Νομίσματα τοῦ Κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων, Ἀθῆναι, 1904, pl. I, nos. 11, 13, 16; pl. II, nos. 11, 12.*

(16) Viegand, Th. — Schrader, Priene, Berlin, 1904, pp. 180 — 182, fig. 176; Bernoulli, J.J., op., cit., pp. 58 — 61, fig. 15; Bieber, M., op. cit., pp. 54 — 55, figs. 47—49.

In general, we recognize in this head the outward appearance of Alexander which was best represênted by Lysippos, and to a certain extent, the square face and deep-set eyes of Scopaic style characterized by the soft treatment of Praxitelean style.

The next head (No. 2, Fig. 4) has been particularly treated by Schreiber (17). He bâses his opinion on its resemblance to the Apoxyomenus(18), and the Azara herm (19). But this opinion has been refused by Bernoulli (20), who dénies any similarity between its features and those of the Azara herm. Suhr(21) says "Its resemblance to the Azara herm is indeed superficial, except for the mouth", and sees also that Apoxyomenus holds some resemblance if we consider that this head is a portrait.

Anyhow, we cannot overlook the poize and features characteristic of Alexander's head : The turning of the neck and the face, the form the mouth and the chin, and the falling of the parted hair over the ears and down the neck (22). The hanging hair over the forehead reminds us of the Eubuleus of Eleusis(23).

The two vertical creases between the eye-brows, and the horizontal furrow which nearly divides the forehead in two halves, with the lower one bulging, give the impression of serious thought and attentive observation. It represents life and free movement of the Lysippic style with the turning of the head to the right and the melting glance of the eyes. It somewhat reflects the lively impression of motion of a statuette in Lower Egypt (now in Louvre) and is interpreted as an early Hellenistic adaptation (24).

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(17) Schreiber, Th., op. cit., pp. 41ff.

(18) Richter, G.M.A., The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks, 1946. figs. 719, 742, 743.

(19) Bieber, M., op. cit., figs. 13 — 17.

(20) Bernoulli, J.J., op. cit., p. 36.

(21) Suhr, E., op. cit., pp. 95 — 96.

(22) Suhr, E., loc., cit.

(23) Richter, G.M.A., op. cit., fig. 512.

(24) Bieber, M., op. cit., pp. 34 — 35, pl. X, fig. 18.

In the head No. 3 (Fig. 5) we can easily recognize a portrait of Alexander, in spite of the poor state of the preserved features. The squareness of the head and the sunken eyes remind us of the surviving battered male heads from the pediments of the temple of Athena Alea in Tegea, which were made by Scopas in the second quarter of the fourth century B.C. (25). This head also reminds us of the same square faces and seep-set eyes of the figures in the scene on a column base in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, 370 — 330 B.C., made also by Scopas(26). The scene represents Hermes leading Alcetis towards winged death to die in place of her husband Admetus, king of Thessaly. The other figures surrounding the drum include Admetus himself, and Hades and Persophone, the king and queen of the underworld.

We can add to the preceding examples the Attic grave-relief found at the river Ilissus and dated soon after 350 B.C., now in the National Museum of Athens. We find in the head No. 3 (Fig. 5) the broad square head and the deep-set eyes of the figures of this scene, which represents a nude young man is the dead, watched sadly by his old father, while his younger brother sits on a step and his dog noses the ground. The features of all these figures represent the stylistic influence of Scopas (27).

It is therefore, clear that this head (Fig. 5) with its eyebrows hanging heavily over the deep-set eyes, recalls the influence of the Scopaic style and it is rightfully put in the first half of the third century B.C.(28).

The next head (No. 4, Fig. 6) is made of red granite, a common material in Egypt and foreign in Greek sculpture. The eyeballs, now missing, were of a different material, and it is stated by Breccia (29) and Noshy(30) that making the eyeballs of a different material and inlying them in the hollows of the eyes, as was done in this head, was not a familiar manner to the Greek artist. But I would like to add that in the Greek sculpture, the eyeballs were occasionaly inset in a different

(25) Barron, J., Greek Sculpture, 1965, pp. 126 — 128., fig., on page 120.

(26) Barron, J., op. cit., pp. 128 — 129, fig. one page 129.

(27) Barron, J., op. cit., p. 130, fig., on page 130.

(28) Noshy, I., op., cit., p. 91; Lawrence, op. cit., p. 183, pl. XXI.

(29) Breccia, E., op. cit., p. 176.

(30) Noshy, I., op. cit., p. 124.

material, probably in ivory, stone or glass(31). In any case the Greek artist here in Alexandria had the ability to acclimatize to the new circumstances of his work in the granite stone and created a purely Greek style.

The thick hair is carefully twisted and modelled in its falling at the sides onto the neck. The lower parts of the brows are projected and the eyes are somewhat large and animated as he gazes in the distance. The cheeks are full and elongated. All the features are carefully modelled to represent the head in a serious and powerful appearance. It reminds us of the serious appearance of Eubuleus of Eleusis in the National Museum of Athens and to a cetain extent of the head of Youth Alexander, in the Acropolis Museum at Athens.

This head had been attributed to the influence of the Lysippic style (32), but it also has the Praxitelean treatment in polishing.

In head No. 5 (Fig. 7) all the transitions have been glossed over and the delicate sentiments is stressed by the disappearing of the masculine and leonine aspect. The 'άνω βλέπειν (33) is more stressed here and the head in general reminds us of a head found in Alexandria, and now in Stuttgart (34), which offers the same example of illusionism in the finishing which glosses over the details of modelling in the third century B.C. (35).

The head reflects the Peculiar Alexandria manner which developed from the Praxitelean School. We note that the beauty of Alexnder is stressed by the softness and the polishing of the head.

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(31) We have already examples, like a large kore, No. 682 with eyeballs, of another material and also the so-called "Kore of Antenor" No. 681 in the Acropolis Museum of Athens, see A Con cise Guide to the Acropolis Museum, Athens, 1965, by Yiannis Meliades, translated by Helen Wace, pp. 27, 31, and Richter, G.M.A., op. cit., p. 147, fig. 447.

(32) Breccia, E., loc. cit.; Noshy, I., loc. cit.

(33) Plutarch, Alex. 4, 1.

(34) See Screiber, Th., op. cit., pl. II, c ; Bernoulli, J.J., figs. 7 — 8; Suhr, E., op. cit., fig. 14; Noshy, I., op. cit., p. 90, note 3 ; Bieber, M. pl. XXIV, figs. 50 — 52.

(35) Cf. Noshy, I., loc. cit.

In the two heads, Nos. 6 — 7 (Figs. 8 — 9), we have a new developed style which leaves us with a touch of the same impression of the preceding manner. The softness and the polishing are still stressed, but the features of Alexander do not have the same stress as earlier heads. Here we do not find the heavy brows or the deep-set eyes and the fiery gaze. But the face continues tofhave a hazy expression, the eyelids are defined and the eyes look dreamily out of their sockets, the mouth in Fig. 8 is half open and the face is long and narrow.

This was the period of the stability, achieved by the two first Ptolemies and reflected on the artists, who observed and expressed accurately the spirit of their age, long after the predominance of Alexander's influence in the early Hellenistic age has abated (36).

Then we come to the limestone head No. 8 (Fig. 10), which is characterized by a thick sketchily mass of hair falling roughly on the sides onto the neck. The forehead is bulgy and the eyes are large with marked eyelids. Although the face represents, in general, a defective modelling, roughness and carelessness of execution, its outline and upraised gaze of the eyes reminds us of a head from Alexandria, now in the British Museum (37). Anyhow, the features here characterize the late Hellenistic art of Egypt and still have the pure Greek style (38).

The small size of the heads leads us to discuss the smallness of the sculpture in Alexandria which has always been explained by the shortage of marble in Egypt, the unwilling to rival the Egyptian art in monumentality, and the inclination towards refined creations (39). Concerning the shortage of the marble,the Ptolemies with their abilities could well bring what they needed from it. Besides, we have a mass of sculptured marble in Graeco-Roman Egypt, and we may take in consideration that most of the monuments of this period are still undiscovered(40). About the disinclination to rival the Egyptian monume-

(36) Noshy, I., op. cit., p. 93.

(37) Suhr, E., op. cit., p. 102; Cf. Bieber, M., op. cit., fig. 53.

(38) Cf. Noshy, I., op. cit., pp. 95 —96.

(39) Noshy, I., op. cit., p. 84.

(40) Hogarth and Benson, Report on Alexandria, 1894 — 1895, p.p 3 ff.; Breccia, E., op. cit., p. 66 and passim; Noshy, I., loc. cit.

ntality, the Egyptian artists produced also, beside the great monuments, small statuettes and refined heads. About the inclination of the artists towards refined creations, that is true and may be the main purpose.

Thus, we can say that the conventions of the life, which began to be fashioned in the new city of Alexandria, with its varied population and different charactéristics were reflected in art and probably the small dimentions of these sculptured heads and others are related to these new trends which were reflected not only in the sculpture in round, but also in the sculptured and painted grave-stones. We find stepped high bases and on their tops there are very small stelai (especially the painted ones) with represent scenes in very fine detail (41). It is one of the new fashions which were careated and subtly modelled in the new city.

In the heads of this subject there are holes in their upper parts : the first head (Figs. : 1 — 3) has three small holes, each of the other heads (Figs. : 4 — 9) has one hole, in the last one (Fig. 10) there are none. In the Greek sculpture there are some cases in which the tops of the heads are separated from their remaining part, the two surfaces being smoothed to fit, and kept in place by small dowells (42). But in our subject, we do not find something like that. In the Greek sculpture also we know that the locks of the hair were occasionally made in bronze or lead (43), an also the ornametns of diadems were added in bronze or glod, but we have only the holes For their attachement remaining and some of them still preserved (44).

So we may expect that this manner of technique continued in Hellenistic Egypt for the same purpose and alomst to attach the ornaments of the diadems(45).

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(41) Ghazal, A., *Γραπταὶ Στῆλαι τῆς 'Ελληνιστικῆς 'Αλεξανδρείας Ἀθῆναι, 1964, pp. 34-42, and references.*

(42) Richter, G.M.A., op. cit., p. 146, fig. 446, note 74.

(43) Richter, G.M.A., op. cit., p. 147, note 84; and on a male head in the Acropolis Museum, No. 657 (Ath. Mitt., 1882.pl. IX, l, p. 193).

(44) Cf. Head of Nemesis by Agorakritos (Richter, G.M.A., op. cit., p. 239, fig. 633); Cf. also head from Delos in the National Museum of Athens, No. 23.

(45) Suhr, E., op. cit., p. 100, sees that these holes bored into the marble for holding the heads in their original places.

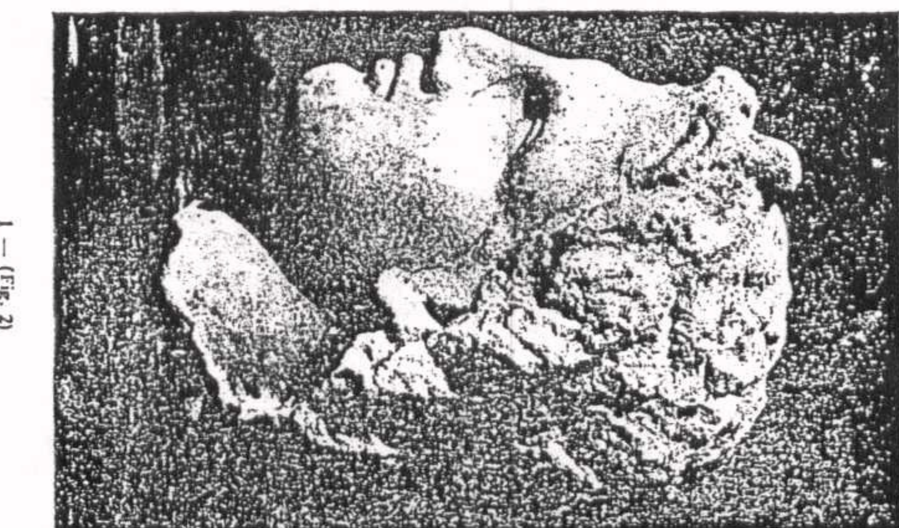
Last the manner in which the features of the heads were modelled, and the way of the breaking necks lead us to believe that the majority of these heads belong to statuettes. We may add that there are headless statuettes of Alexander with the aegis in the Graeco-Roman Museum of Alexandria(46), which have been explained as private dedications by the macedonian soldiers to Alexander and may hold some relation to the later Alexandrian marble heads of Alexander (47).

(46) Nos. 3874, 3903, 3903, 3801; Breccia, E., op. cit., p. 205.

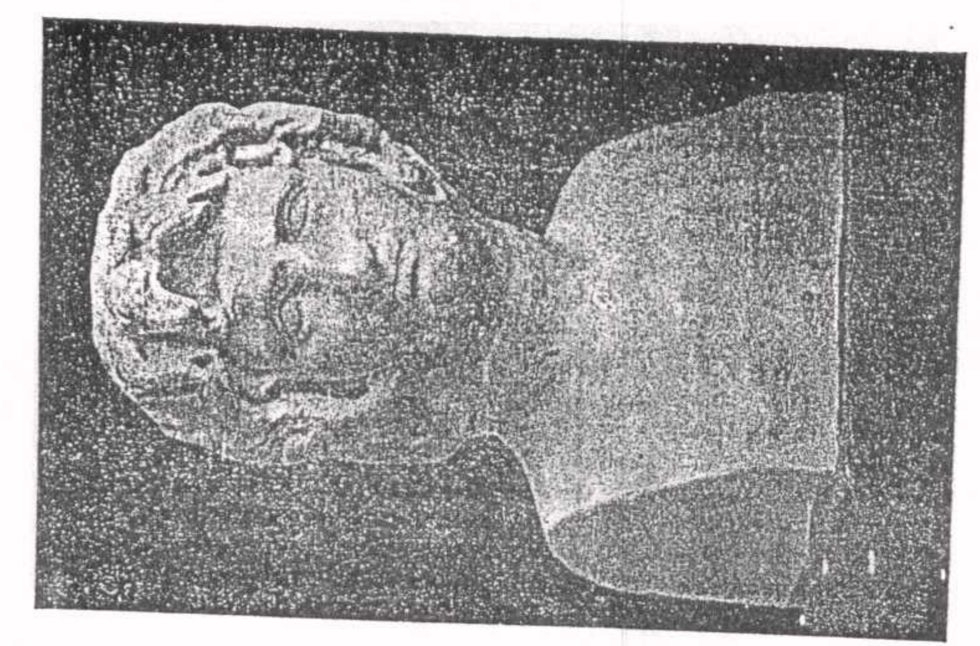
(47) Bieber, M., op. cit., p. 62.

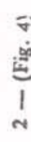


1 — (Fig. 1)

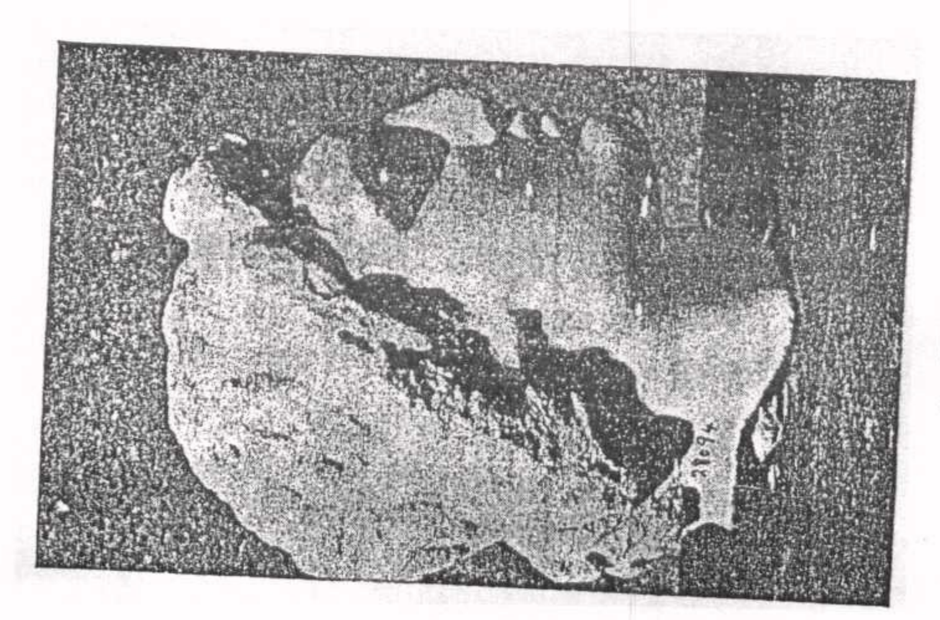


1 — (Fig. 2)

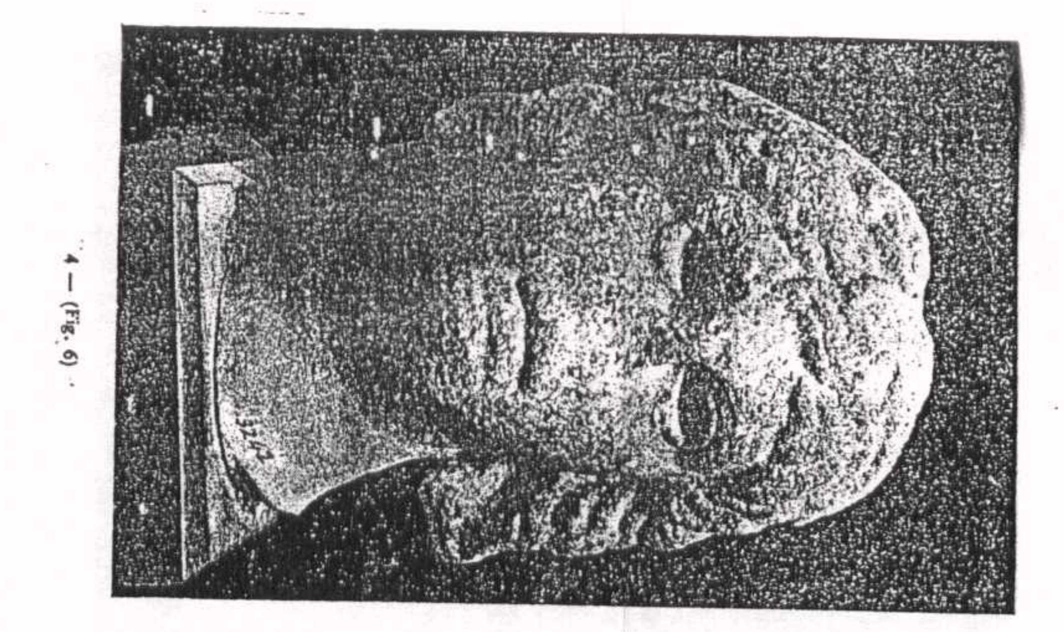




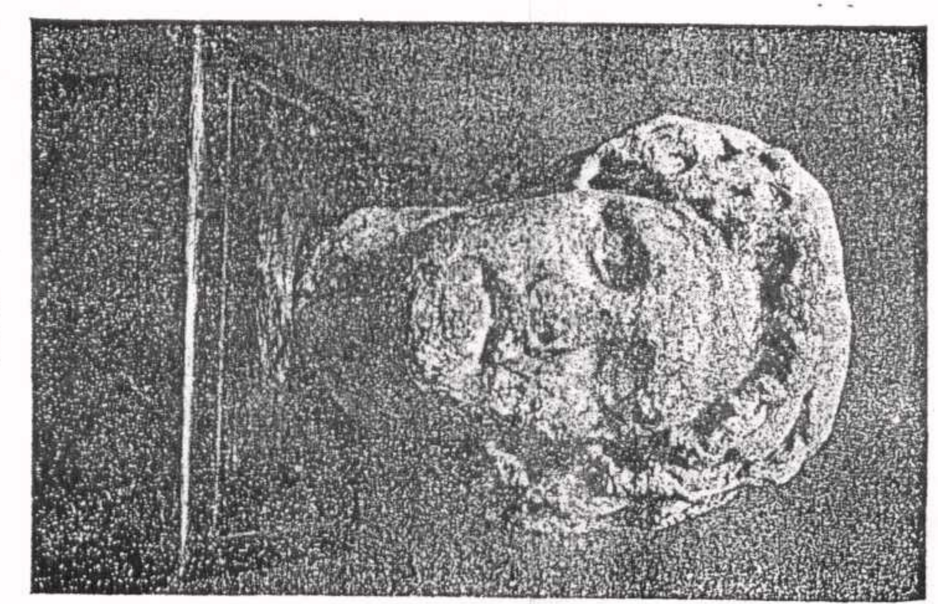
2 — (Fig. 4)



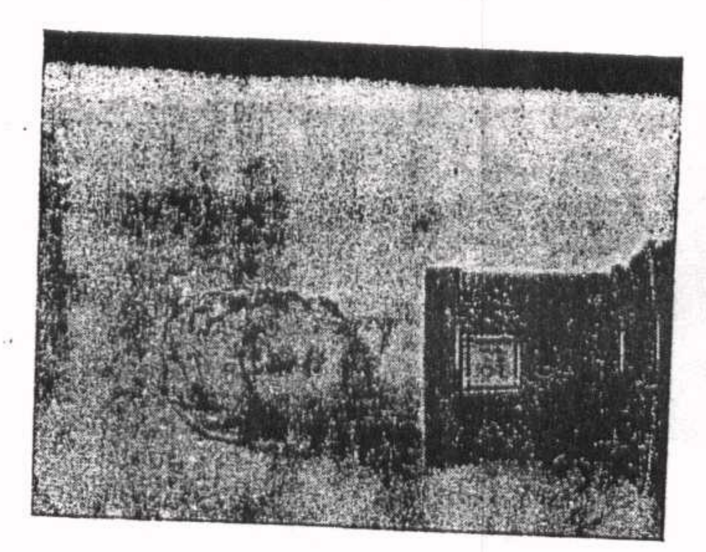
1 — (Fig. 3)



4 — (Fig. 6)



3 — (Fig. 5)

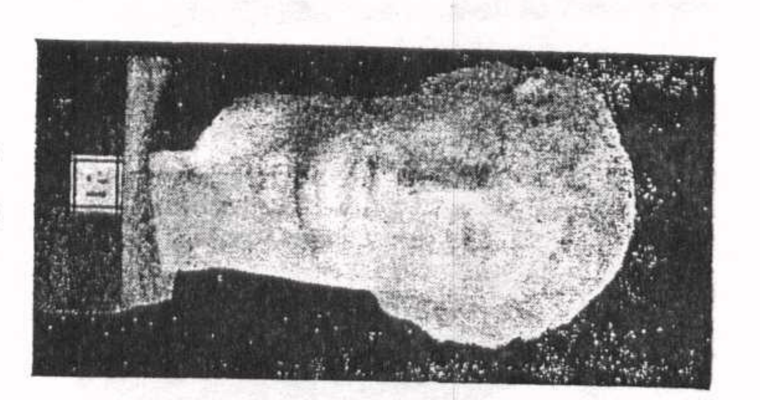




5 — (Fig. 7)



6 — (Fig. 8)



7 — (Fig. 9)



8 — (Fig. 10)

Alexandrian Notes*

Alan J. B. Wace

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ALEXANDRIAN NOTES.

The three short notes here printed were written for broadcast talks to be given in April and May 1944. They all deal with questions of Alexandrian topography and try to present in a clear and simple manner the present state of our knowledge on the topics concerned. They make no claim to be exhaustive or final, for it is to be hoped that future excavations will throw more light on all such problems. From their very nature the talks are rather more dogmatic than is desirable in purely archaeological notes. Owing to their brevity it is, of course, not possible to indicate the evidence for or against any particular statment. Nor is it possible to give literary and other references, which can be most conveniently found in Calderini's topographical dictionary. Such as they are then these notes are offered in the hope that they may be of some use in assisting non-specialists.

I. The Serapeum.

Everyone who knows Alexandria knows Pompey's Pillar, a name which is quite incorrect. It seems to have been called Pompey's Pillar by the Crusaders. The true account of its origin had been lost and they were told some fantastic story that the head of Pompey was enclosed in a cage set on the top of it. In Arabic it is called 'Amud al Sawari. The origin of this name is even more obscure and no satisfactory reason for it has yet been suggested. In reality, the pillar or column was erected in the year 297 in honour of the Roman emperor Diocletian who dealt mercifully with Alexandria when it had revolted against him. The column stands on the top of a hill of rock and all around can be seen ancient ruins of various dates. That a great building once existed here on the rock round the column is obvious. Ancient Arab writers tell us that according to tradition a great palace once stood

here. Another Arab author records that about 1171 the then governor of Alexandria ordered the destruction of more than a hundred columns of granite on the site and then had the fragments transported to the harbour to build either a breakwater or else some defensive work against attacks from the sea by Crusaders. Fragments of granite columns deliberately split by wedges into small pieces which have been found among the ruins seem to prove that there is some truth in this story(1). All about the area too are fragments of broken marble which show that any marble there was, was purposely broken up to be burnt for lime. The whole site has been dug into again and again by those in search of stones for building material. Not only have columns with their capitals and bases completely disappeared, but whole walls of solid masonry have been torn out and only the cuttings in the rock remain to show where walls, colonnades, and temples once stood. These ruins are really the ruins of ruins. It is not surprising that it is extremely difficult now to trace where colonnades and temples once stood or to unravel the plan of the construction of which fragments still survive in spite of all.

For many years it has been generally believed by archaeologists that on the flat top of this rock round Pompey's Pillar stood the great Temple of Serapis, the most famous sanctuary of ancient Alexandria. This temple illustrated the attempt of the Ptolemies to unite Egyptian and Greek civilisation and religion. Serapis is a combination of Osiris and Apis and was worshipped here with Isis his wife, their son Horus whom the Greeks called Harpocrates, Anubis the god of the lower world and other gods. Serapis was represented by the Greeks as a beneficent divine being resembling the Greek Zeus, the

(1) Perhaps the red granite columns at the Mosque and Fort of Kait Bey have some connection with this.

Roman Jupiter. The records we possess do not say clearly who founded the sanctuary. One account says it was Alexander himself. Another that Ptolemy I brought here from Sinope in the Black Sea a statue which was identified by the priests as one of Serapis. He had seen the statue in a dream. Now the excavations at the site which Mr Rowe Director of the Graeco-Roman Museum has been conducting scientifically and patiently for the last two years with the encouragement of the Director General of the Municipality have given us the name of the builder of the great Graeco-Egyptian temple and sacred enclosure which became so famous in Graeco-Roman times. Last August Mr. Rowe found under the emplacement of one of the corner stones of the enclosing wall a series of ten plaques, the foundation deposit laid down when the building was begun. The corner stones, under which the plaques were laid, were long ago taken away by those who used the site as a quarry. Fortunately they were not as thorough and scientific as Mr. Rowe and the inconspicuous hollow in the rock where the plaques were laid beneath the masonary miraculously escaped their greed. There is one plaque of gold, one of silver, one of bronze, one of faience, one of Nile mud and five of opaque glass. All are inscribed in Greek and in Egyptian hieroglyphs. They state clearly that Ptolemy III built the temple and the sacred enclosure for Serapis.

The rock where the temple stood was sometimes spoken of as an acropolis or citadel and was said to be in Rhakotis that quarter of Alexandria where a small Egyptian town had stood before Alexander founded his city. Here there was a temple of Osiris and Isis in which Ptolemy I is said to have placed the statue of Pluto from Sinope. He did not build that temple for it already existed and its existence is proved by at least one early Ptolemaic dedicatory inscription found on the site. Whether Ptolemy II did anything to enlarge or

beautify the temple we do not know, for there is no evidence either literary or archaeological. Ptolemy III as the foundation plaques now prove, built here the first great Graeco-Egyptian temple of Serapis. It was his policy we know from other inscriptions to bring together the Greeks and the Egyptians in the worship of the native gods.

He restored or built many Egyptian sanctuaries throughout the country with this very object. No doubt the building of

the Serapeum at Alexandria was part of the same policy. Recently the excavations have yielded no less than four inscriptions all mentioning dedications to Serapis. Thus there is no longer any doubt but that the area round Pompey's Pillar was the site of the famous temple of Serapis, one of the great glories of ancient Alexandria where Egytians and Greeks both together could worship Osiris and Isis and other Egyptian gods.

What was the Serapeum like? We have accounts, necessarily incomplete, from several ancient writers. The temple we are told stood on a rocky hill and was the dominant feature of a series of buildings. A flight of one hundred steps led to the platform on the top of the hill. There the temple occupied the centre of a large rectangle. The superhuman statue of the god touched the side walls with his right and his left hand. It was made of various woods and of metals. The walls of the shrine were covered with plates of gold, of silver and of bronze. There was a window ingeniously arranged so that at every season of the year the first rays of the rising sun fell on the lips of the god. The whole temple was decorated with precious stones and rare marbles. In it were dedicated many rich offerings. It, the open space round it and the porticoes and exedras were adorned with statues and with works of art of all kinds. Round it were chambers where priests and devotees could live. Underneath

were secret rooms for mysteries of the worship of the gods. Another account adds that the whole area was square. The hundred steps led into a vestibule closed by a grille and four columns adorned the entrance. The temple was enclosed by porticoes attached to which were bookcases. There those who wished to read could always find books ready to hand. The roofs were covered with gold (probably really gilded bronze). At all events the tops of the columns were covered with gilt bronze. In the centre was a great column. Before the centre of the court was a building with a hundred doors each bearing the name of some ancient divinity. There were also two obelisks and a fountain and statues of the twelve creators of the building. In addition to the library the temple seems to have possessed also a Nilometer for measuring the rise of the Nile, a feature found in other Egyptian temples of Ptolemaic date, for instance that ot Edfu. The references to books and the library refer to the circumstance that after the foundation of the great library in the Mouseion a branch library was formed. This, which held nearly 50,000 books, was known as the daughter library and kept in the Serapeum. Its formation was presumably due to Ptolemy III the builder of the great Serapeum, but Cleopatra probably helped it especially after the damage done to the mother library in Caesar's Alexandrian War.

Though the Serapeum must have suffered during the various riots and rebellions that took place under the Roman empire it and its contents remained more or less intact till 391. In that year religious riots broke out in Alexandria. The Serapeum was the last stronghold of the pagans who fortified themselves in the temple and its enclosure. The sanctuary was stormed by the Christians. The pagans were driven out, the temple was sacked, and its contents were destroyed. In this struggle the library presumably perished also. The fury of destruction can be recognised from the fact that the recent

excavations have lately unearthed a block of grey granite with a Greek inscription recording the dedication of a bronze statue to Serapis. The statue has of course long since vanished and the block of granite was found shattered into many pieces by the triumphant christians eager to wipe out all tracas of heathenism.

Of the glories of the temple itself the exacavations have so far revealed little. The finest works of art are an Apis bull in black granite and a white marble bust of Serapis the face of which was gilded. Two sphinxes in red granite and a huge scarab have also been found. An interesting find is an altar once decorated with painted garlands and dedicated to Ptolemy II and his sister and wife Arsinoe. This is further evidence that a sanctuary existed before Ptolemy III built the great temple. All over the site there are many fragments of fine slabs of coloured marble and broken columns and other architectural fragments of red granite. The actual position of the temple is still unknown. The site of the great flight of one hundred steps is also undetermined. It seems there was a double colonnade surrounding the whole area. The outer colonnade was Roman and the inner the original Ptolemaic colonnade. This is approached at the southeast corner by a flight of steps. On the east and apparently on the north the colonnades stood on the upper level of rock. On the south, however, excavation has uncovered the foundations of a colonnade on a lower level, at the foot of the rock. Here a row of columns formed a central walk. This has on its outside a long row of small chambers built against the outer wall of the enclosure. These may have been some of the underground chambers for the mysteries of the worship of Serapis or some of those dedicated to the hundred ancient divinities. So far the evidence of the excavations confirms the descriptions of the ancient writers. Now that they are being systematically pursued it is to be hoped that in time we

may be able to obtain a more vivid picture of the Serapeum one of the greatest Graeco-Egyptian temples and the greatest in Alexandria.

II.- The Tomb of Alexander.

Ancient custom decreed that the Kings of Macedonia should always be buried in Macedonia at the city of Edessa. All the royal ancestors of Alexander the Great were buried there. So when Alexander himself died at Babylon in the summer of 323 B. C. his ministers and generals who undertook to administer the empire on behalf of his unborn son made preparations to send his body back to Macedonia for burial. A sumptuous car was prepared appropriately adorned for so great a king. His body wrapped in gold and dressed with all the insignia of royalty was laid in a glass coffin. When the procession was ready to start for Macedonia conditions at the headquarters of the government and army in Asia had changed. Perdiccas the chief minister was trying to hold the vast empire together in spite of the individual ambitions of Alexander's officers. Certain generals, however, were already attempting to satisfy their own desires and to secure portions of the empire for themselves. With such ulterior motives his generals met in council and appointed themselves governors of large provinces which Alexander had subdued. Among his generals was one called Ptolemy. He was a shrewd, capable soldier and related to the royal family. He had been in Egypt with Alexander when he founded Alexandria. Ptolemy observed the richness and the advantages of the country, how easy it was to defend and that its new city Alexandria, was likely to become if wisely administered, one of the principal, if not the principal, city of the eastern Mediterranean. He therefore secured for himself the appointment as governor of Egypt. There was a Greek custom that kings and other great men who founded or re-founded cities should be buried

in them in some prominent and central place. The possession of the founder's body was regarded as a great asset. It was believed that the founder's spirit from the other world would take steps to protect the city which as his foundation gave a resting place to his body and honoured his grave and memory. Ptolemy thus realised that if he could obtain possession of Alexander's body for burial in Alexandria, he would greatly strengthen his position and his prestige. Accordingly before the procession with Alexander's body was ready to set out for Macedonia the rumour began to circulate that Alexander had left instructions that he was to be buried at the Temple of Zeus Ammon in the oasis of Siwa. While he was in Egypt Alexander had visited this famous sanctuary and it was said that the god hailed him as his son. So the rumour that Alexander wished to be buried at Siwa ran around. Whether Ptolemy originated it we cannot tell, but he at any rate profited by it. Ptolemy too was in league with the officer who was placed in charge of Alexander's funeral procession. Thus in 322 B.C. when it finally started, it took the road not to Macedonia, but through Damascus to Egypt. Perdiccas the chief minister heard, but heard too late. His efforts to stop or divert the procession were useless. The funeral car with Alexander's body had already passed into the power of Ptolemy. The body with all royal state was first taken to Memphis and there given temporary burial. Later, perhaps not till the time of Ptolemy II it was placed in a golden sarcophagus and given permanent burial in his own city, Alexandria.

In Alexandria Ptolemy built a sacred enclosure as a mausoleum for Alexander on a scale of magnificence suited to his greatness. This tomb was seen in Alexandria by many people. Strabo the geographer saw it. Augustus, the first Roman emperor, visited the tomb. He wished to touch the body of the great conqueror and in doing so damaged the

nose. He placed a crown on the head and scattered flowers over the body. When asked if he would like to see the bodies of the Ptolemies, Augustus scornfully refused saying he wished to see a king and not dead men. The actual body of Alexander seems to have been kept in a special vault and to have been brought out to show to such visitors. Before this however the golden sarcophagus had been taken by Ptolemy XI. The famous Cleopatra also in a moment of financial stress had taken many valuable offerings from Alexander's tomb, so the Jewish historian Josephus relates. The mad emperor Caligula is said to have worn Alexander's golden breastplate and this he may well have abstracted from the tomb. Later at the beginning of the third century the Roman emperor Septimius Severus made the tomb unapproachable. He collected all the sacred books of Egypt and placed them in it and forbade access either to it or to the books. His son Caracalla who posed as a reincarnation of both Heracles and Alexander, placed in the tomb a purple cloak, fine rings, a gorgeous military belt and various other precious offerings. This is the last recorded visit to the tomb. What happened to it thereafter we do not know, but already in the fourth century St. John Chrysostom in one of his addresses asked, "Where is the body of Alexander ?" Is it possible that by then knowledge of the position of the tomb had been lost ? One ancient writer says that Ptolemy IV wished to collect in one magnificent mausoleum the bodies of all his ancestors the earlier Ptolemies and the body of Alexander as well. We do not know whether he actually did so. He may have built a grand mausoleum for the Ptolemies by the side of the Tomb of Alexander. If he collected there the bodies of his ancestors, it does not necessarily follow that the original tomb of Alexander remained empty and neglected.

Where was Alexander's Tomb ? Can its site be recognised in Alexandria to-day ? This is a standing problem of Alexandrian topography. The interesting and peculiar feature is that no tradition has survived in Alexandria linked with any particular spot as the site of the tomb of the founder of the city. That the royal mausoleums of the Ptolemies which, as already stated, probably adjoined the Tomb of Alexander, should have vanished completely need cause no surprise. Such tombs would be plundered, then neglected and left open to destruction and all traces of them would soon be lost. That Alexander's Tomb should have been lost is surprising. Alexander was buried we are told in the Macedonian manner. Therefore we should expect his tomb to have resembled, in plan and construction at least, an early Ptolemaic tomb like those discovered in Alexandria at Anfushy or Mustafa. It would of course have been much larger and more magnificently decorated and surrounded by a sacred area where dedications could be made to Alexander. The tomb itself was probably underground hewn out of the rock and would have consisted of several chambers. In front of it would have been a sunken, unroofed court containing perhaps an altar where due rites could be paid to the hero. This tomb of Alexander was near or within the royal quarter towards the eastern part of the city and probably not far from the intersection of its two main streets. One of the two main streets of Alexandria was the Street of Canopus which ran from the Gate of the Sun in the east to the Gate of the Moon in the west. Since the ancient cemeteries of Alexandria are in the Chatby and Hadra areas to the east and in the Gabbari area to the west, the ancient city must have lain between these two extremes, for the cemeteries were alwaye outside the walls of a Greek city. The site of the old Rosetta Gate in the Arab walls probably marks the east end of the old main street which would have followed the course of the modern Avenue Fuad 1st. The

Mahmudieh Canal on the west marks roughly the western limit of the ancient city. A north and south line dividing this area in two would gave passed just to the west of the modern Fort of Kom El Dik. Thus we should look for the Tomb of Alexander somewhere near the intersection of Avenue Fuad 1st and the Rue Nebi Daniel, for as already stated it was the custom that the semi-divine founder of a city should be buried near its centre.

Till the middle of the sixteenth century there was in the city a small building called the Tomb of the Prophet and King Iskander. According to a traveller this stood near the church of St. Mark[1] which was among a mass of ruins in the centre of the town. The Coptic Church of St. Mark is close to the Rue Nebi Daniel and close also to the Mosque of Nebi Daniel. This then should be the area where we should look for the Tomb of Alexander and it is more or less in the centre of the ancient city. Some have snggested that the Prophet Daniel who came from Babylon has been confused in tradition with Alexander who was brought here to Alexandria from his deathbed at Babylon. Some believe that Alexander's Tomb lay under the Mosque of Nebi Daniel and stories have been told of vaults beneath the Mosque. The dragoman of the Russian Consulate in 1859 asserted that he had entered those vaults and had seen through a hole in a wooden door, a cage made of glass. In that was a human body crowned with a golden diadem and placed on a throne. Books and papyri were scattered round it. This tale is probably pure fiction. The imaginative dragoman had probably been reading some of the ancient accounts of the Tomb of Alexander and invented the story to please his hearers. There is no evidence of the existence of any such vaults beneath the Mosque of Nebi Daniel. Mahmud Bey Falaki, whose evidence should be considered

(1) The existing mosque of Sidi Iskander is nowhere near the Church of St Mark.

trustworthy saw nothing of the kind. Excavations by side of the Mosque have revealed portions of an important building with a colonnade. These ruins may well have been connected with the enclosure surrounding the Tomb of Alexander or with one of the Ptolemaic mausoleums. If it is correct that Kom el Demas, said to be a variant of Kom el Dik at the western foot of which lies the Mosque of Nebi Daniel, really means "Mound of Bodies" it suggests that a mauosoleum stood in the neighbourhood. As the Royal Quarter was the northeastern quarter of the city this site would have adjoined at least its southwestern angle. There is also a record of the discovery of some golden ornaments of the time of Alexander near a site called Demas, but the value of this is open to question. Nevertheless all the evidence points to the probability that the Tomb of Alexander lay somewhere near the Mosque of Nebi Daniel. If it were ever possible to excavate in that neighbourhood some indications might be found which could lead us to a closer identification of the possible location of the Tomb. The Tomb was probably underground hewn out in the rock, as already described.

Above ground there would have been perhaps a temple of Alexander with colonnades round it all within a sacred enclosure, for we know Alexander was worshipped as a god and the day of his death was kept in Alexandria as a holy day. Round the Tomb would have been the tombs and temples of the early Ptolemies at least. There was such a monument to Ptolemy I and his wife Berenice, and a similar one to Ptolemy II and his sister and wife Arsinoe. Their successors would probably have been honoured in the same manner. Connected with all these there was perhaps a tumulus or some artificial mound. Though so much is conjecture, yet let us hope that chance discovery or scientific excavation, whenever that is possible, will at last solve for us the problem of the position of the Tomb of Alexander. We know the site of Caesar's pyre,

We know the Tomb of Napoleon. May we not some day know also the Tomb of Alexander ?

III. The Library

The great library of Alexandria was the most famous library of antiquity, but it was by no means the first library ever created. Other men long before the days of the Ptolemies had formed libraries and the most famous of these was the great philosopher Aristotle. A follower of his, Demetrius of Phaleron, who was philosopher, orator and politician was exiled from Athens and took refuge in Egypt about 307 B.C. He was well received by Ptolemy I. Ptolemy like Alexander's other generals who had made themselves kings and had divided the empire wished to encourage learning in his new capital Alexandria. He entrusted Demetrius with the formation of a school of learning on the model of Aristotle's Lyceum at Athens. Demetrius drew up the scheme for the institution and persuaded scholars and scientists of all kinds from all over the Greek world to settle in Alexandria under Ptolemy's patronage. For their use a library was begun. The school of learning was known as the Mouseion, the *Home of the Muses* who were the patron goddesses of all learning. This is the origin of our name Museum. It was a state institution financed by the kings and afterwards by the Roman emperors. It was not a university because its main object was not teaching, but rather research. It was in fact a research institution. Since Demetrius was put to death by Ptolemy about 283 B. C. the Mouseion must have been founded earlier, probably about 290 B.C. Strabo who visited Alexandria during the reign of Augustus says that part of the palace was given to it. There the philologists, as he calls them, had a promenade for walking and exedras for sitting. There too was a great hall where they had their meals in common. In charge of all was a priest. The library was formed as part of the necessary apparatus for the

work of the scholars and scientists. The main object was the encouragement of learning, but linked to it was another, the glorification of the Ptolemies. The poets had to write odes to celebrate their fame, the historians histories to record their exploits, the scientists to devise new engines of war. Every possible means was employed to enlarge the library. Ptolemy III ordered that all travellers landing at Alexandria should hand over their books. The originals were kept and papyrus copies were made for them. Another Ptolemy sent a large sum to Athens as security for the loan of the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides which he wished to copy. He retained the original manuscripts and sent copies only back to Athens. He did, however, ask the Athenians to keep the money he had deposited as security. When the kings of Pergamon, who were also forming a library, were keenly competing for books, another Ptolemy forbade the export of papyrus. He hoped by this method to prevent them from having any books at all. At all events whatever the means adopted the Library of Alexandria soon grew to a great size. In 48 B.C. it is said to have contained 400,000 or even 700,000 volumes. If we allow for the inevitable exaggeration, the number of books collected was immense. It included Aristotle's library and after the building of the great Serapeum by Ptolemy III a branch or daughter library was formed there, which is said to have held over 40,000 volumes. The Serapeum library was perhaps a reading library for the general public, while the mother library remained the main research library for the scholars of the Mouseion. Where was the library ? It was presumably attached to the palace, because Plutarch says that, when Caesar during the Alexandrian War burnt the ships and dockyards which were close to the palace, the fire spread to the warehouses on the quay and to the stores of books. This is one clue for its position, if the book stores were part of the library. Many years ago about

1847 a granite block was found in Alexandria which according to an inscription on it had been made as a case for three volumes of Dioscourides' works. We do not know whether this was found in position or whether it was one of the book-cases of the Library. It is conjectured, however, that the Mouseion stood somewhere about the modern Rue Toussoun. This area was in ancient times much nearer the sea than it is today and so would have not been far from the naval arsenal which Caesar burnt with the warships.

Of the history of the Library we know little. Was it really burnt during Caesar's Alexandrian War ? Caesar himself does not mention it. Nor does Strabo who himself visited Alexandria and saw the Mouseion. Plutarch and Seneca are the first to mention this burning of the library and the latter says 700,000 books were destroyed. This is an obvious exaggeration. Perhaps during the Alexandrian War while Caesar was besieged in the Palace, some damage was done to the Library, but nothing very serious. In compensation Antony is said to have given to Cleopatra the rival library which the Kings of Pergamon had formed in their capital. What was the ultimate fate of the Library we do not know. Probably many of the books found their way at first to Rome and later to Constantinople. Many too probably were destroyed in the various riots and disturbances that occurred in Alexandria under the Roman emperors. There were such troubles in the reigns of Caracalla, Aurelian and Diocletian. Probably in view of the silence of all authorities the main library no longer existed in Alexandria by the end of the fourth century A.D. The daughter library would no doubt have been damaged and ultimately destroyed in the religious riots that ended in the sack and burning of the Serapeum. There is a tale that after the Arab Capture of the city the commander in chief 'Amr ordered the library to be burnt. It is said there were so many books that the fires

they made heated the 4000 public baths of Alexandria for six months. This can hardly be believed. First the man who is given as the source died before the Arab conquest. Second the Arab historian who relates it lived five centuries after the conquest. Third it seems most likely that by the time of the Arab conquest anything left of the library had already been moved to Constantinople.

Famous scholars were put in charge of the Library by the Ptolemies and we have a list of them. Most of them too seemed to have combined their duties as Librarian with that of tutor to the king's children. Callimachus, the poet who was one of the Library staff but not chief librarian, was the first to catalogue it. He made a catalogue which was not merely an alphabetical list, but contained also a short account of each book and its author. Other scholars or writers were entrusted with the care of special sections of the Library. One dealt with the epic poets, another with tragedy, another with comedy and so on. The more important part of the work of the Librarian and his staff was original research and the production of original compositions, prose, poetry and the like. Alexandria produced or attracted to itself a school of poets which was the first of its day under the Ptolemies. There is no need to list their names, for authors like Theocritus, Callimachus and Apollonius are well known. They practised the previously known forms of poetry, but the one which became under their influence the most characteristic perhaps of Hellenistic or Alexandrian poetry is the epigram, occasional pieces of verse of not more than a dozen lines. The philologists and critics of the library especially its great librarians of whom Aristarchus is the most famous devoted themselves to collecting and editing with introductions and commentaries the works of such authors as Homer. The foundations of Homeric study were laid in Alexandria by these scholars. They also drew up the standard

list of the works of the classical Greek authors which have come down to us. They chose the authors they considered supreme in the various branches of literature and selected from their works those they thought were the best. It is to their work that we owe the survival of Greek literature. They also invented the Greek accents by which modern Greek is pronounced in order to indicate the correct pronunciation of Greek since it was then changing. Many people made fun of the Library and its staff. They said it was full of rats and idle talkers. One writer asserted that it was only in populous Egypt that food was given to scribblers who read old books and quarrelled continuously in the bird coop of the Mouseion. Some may have done so, but most of the scholars of the Library were devoted to their work literary and scientific. We owe a very special debt of gratitude to them for their scientific research. Three great branches of science attracted their special attention, Mathematics, Astronomy and Mechanics. It was an Alexandrian astronomer who first put forward the view thal the sun is the centre of our system and not the earth, thus anticipating Galileo by fifteen hundred years. He was, however, not believed. Their astronomical observations are the basis of modern astronomy and they called the stars by names which are still in use. In mathematics they made many discoveries and also classified what was already known by writing text books and treatises. One Alexandrian wrote a text book which remained the standard work on geometry for over two thousand years. It is only comparatively recently that it has ceased to be used in English schools. In Mechanics they made great progress, especially the famous Archimedes whose screw for raising water is still in common use in Egypt. Another almost discovered the steam engine. They devoted much attention to the study of geography and the exploration of the new lands to the east and south which Alexander's conquests had made accessible to them. Natural History was also cncouraged and there was a zoological garden at Alexandria. Thus it is perhaps not too much to

say that by their original work no less than by their collection and arrangement of all known learning the Alexandrian scholars and scientists laid the foundations for most branches of modern science and literature. Much, too much indeed, of what they wrote has been lost, but fortunately a great deal is preserved as they wrote it and some we possess through the medium of Arabic translations. The foundation of the Library and Mouseion at Alexandria which they really owed to Demetrius of Phaleron was the greatest achievement of the Ptolemies and is their most enduring monument. Their palaces and their luxuries, their armies and their fleets have long since perished and are all but forgotten. The buildings of the Mouseion and the books of the Library have also perished long ago, but the work they inspired still exists. The learning which the Ptolemies encouraged the world can never forget. It is such things, the things of the mind and spirit which survive for ever and are of permanent benefit to mankind. *A.*

A Ptolemaic Inscription from Hermopolis Magna*

Alan J. B. Wace

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A PTOLEMAIC INSCRIPTION FROM HERMOPOLIS MAGNA

In March 1945 during the excavations, under the direction of Mr. Makramallah, of the University at Hermopolis Magna (Ashmunein) M. Barraize of the Service des Antiquités, while engaged in re-erecting the fallen columns of the great Graeco-Roman Basilica (1), found five inscribed blocks of a Doric architrave which had been re-employed in the foundations of the Basilica. I am much indebted to M. Barraize for information about their discovery and for photographs of the inscription upon them and to Mr. Makramallah for communicating the circumstances to me.

In view of the importance of the inscription and of the architectural members associated with it, it has been thought that a provisional publication here would be of service to scholars, pending the completion of the excavations and the publication of a full scientific report.

The inscription, a facsimile of which is shown in Fig. 1, reads as follows:

Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης Θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν καὶ Βασιλίσσῃ Βερενίκῃ τῇ ἀδελφῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ γυναικὶ | Θεοῖς Εὐεργέταις καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ Ἀρσινόῃ [Θ]εοῖς Ἀδελφοῖς τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐντὸς τοῦ τεμένους | καὶ τὴν στο[ὰ]ν οἱ τασσόμενοι ἐν τῷ Ἑρμοπολίτῃ νομῷ κάτοικοι ἱππε[ῖ]ς εὐεργεσίας ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰς αὐτούς.

This can be translated thus::

"To King Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, the Brother Gods, and to Queen Berenike, his sister and wife, the Benefactor Gods, and to Ptolemy and Arsinoe, the Brother Gods, the

(1) Barraize, *Annales du Service des Antiquités* XL, p. 741 ff.; *cf* Roeder, *ibid.* XXXIX, p. 745 ff.

cavalry soldiers established in the Hermopolite Nome (dedicated) the statues and the temple and the other things within the sacred enclosure and the portico in recognition of benefits to them."

The date of the inscription is clear. It was engraved during the reign of Ptolemy III, Euergetes I, and his wife Berenike, 246-221 B.C. The inscription contains two of the usual official fictions. Ptolemy III was not the son of Ptolemy III by his sister Arsinoe, but by his first wife Arsinoe the daughter of Lysimachus, King of Thrace. Berenike was not a daughter of Ptolemy II and sister of Ptolemy III, but daughter of Magas, King of Cyrene, a stepson of Ptolemy I.

The κάτοικοι who made the dedication, were Graeco-Macedonian military allotment holders established in the Hermopolite Nome and in this case cavalry. The word κάτοικος is the regular technical term for such military colonists. Both cavalry and infantry were so established in military colonies as part of the Ptolemaic regular army, and from the end of the third century B.C. the term κάτοικος replaces the older κληροῦχος in this sense. (1)

The κάτοικοι were organised on a military basis, the cavalry being commanded by Hipparchs and the infantry by Chiliarchs. These military colonies had their own national Hellenic life and had a gymnasium organisation and their own πολιτεύματα or autonomous communities (2). Such military colonies were established all over Egypt, especially in the Fayum. One inscription was erected in the reign of Ptolemy VI, Philometor, by the cavalry and infantry settled in the Ombite Nome (3). In Cyprus there were similar settlements, but many of these seem to have been foreign mercenaries, such as Lycians or Cilicians (4), though Cretans, Achaeans, and other Greeks are recorded (5).

The whole question of the Ptolemaic military colonies is not yet clear, although we possess much information on the subject which cannot be discussed here in detail. It has been

(1) Bevan, *History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 173 f.
(2) Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v.* κάτοικος.
(3) Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, No. 114.
(4) Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, No's. 146, 147, 148, 157.
(5) Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, No's. 108, 151, 153.

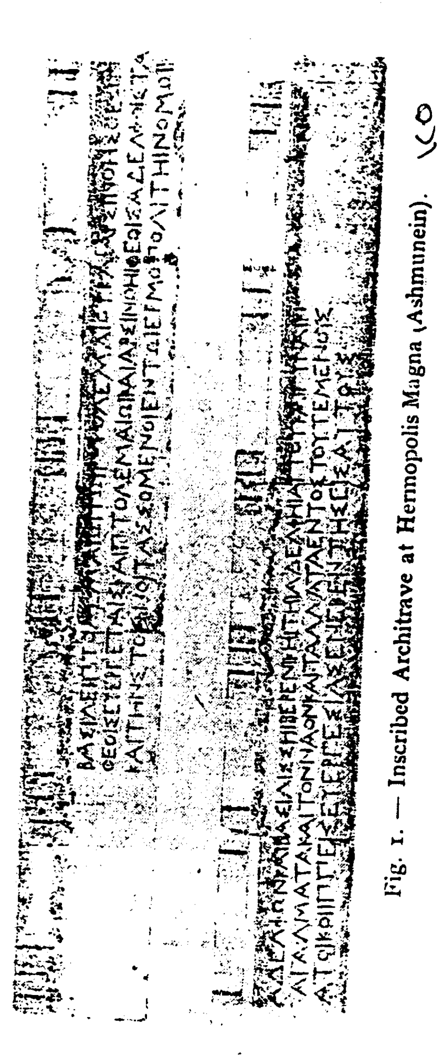


Fig. 1. — Inscribed Architrave at Hermopolis Magna (Ashmunein).

fully treated by Oertel (1) and Bevan (2) gives a brief account of the system. Similar military colonies were established by the Seleucids and by the Attalids in Asia Minor and the information about these which is perhaps in some respects even fuller than that which we have as regards the Ptolemaic κάτοικοι has also been well discussed by Oertel (3).

There are two long inscriptions from Hermopolis Magna with long lists of names dating from the second and first centuries B.C., the latter from the reign of Ptolemy XI (4). These probably record some of the κάτοικοι of later date and it is interesting that among them in the later inscription one or two Egyptian names occur. Perhaps these were the sons of Greek fathers and Egyptian mothers.

This new inscription from Hermopolis Magna records the erection and the dedication to Ptolemy III and Berenike and to the Brother Gods (Ptolemy II and Arsinoe) of statues, a temple, and other offerings within the sacred enclosure, and also of a stoa. It is not clear whether the latter was within or without the sacred enclosure.

The temple to which this inscribed architrave belonged is presumably the temple mentioned. Since we have in all so far twenty six blocks of the architrave we can form some idea of its character. Two of the corner blocks seem to be missing. It was a peripteral temple with six Doric columns at each end and ten probably along the sides. No capitals have yet been unearthed, but there are one or two fragments of Doric columns, a corner of a pediment, and one or two pieces of the upper part of the triglyph frieze and of the cornice. The whole was gaily painted in red and blue on stucco applied to the nummulitic limestone (5) which is the material employed for this and all the other Ptolemaic architecture to be mentioned below. A few fragments of Ionic capitals suggest that the interior columns were Ionic. There are no signs of the statues and it is too much to hope that they will be found.

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(1) In Pauly-Wissowa *s. v.*

(2) *Op. cit.*, p. 167 ff.

(3) In Pauly-Wissowa *loc. cit.* See also Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* VII, p. 117 ff.

(4) Breccia, *Alexandria Cat.*, *Iscrizioni Greche e Latine*, No. 44 a; Milne, *Cairo Cat.*, *Greek Inscriptions*, No. 9296.

(5) This stone was quarried in the hills in the desert a little to the north of the necropolis of Hermopolis, Tuna el Gebel.

This temple was presumably the centre of the Ptolemaic sacred enclosure which lay beneath the Graeco-Roman Basilica. Of this enclosure the southern wall of mud brick seems to have been laid bare in its complete length. The western wall which has been traced from the southwest angle of the enclosure for a considerable distance northwards, but not yet to the northwestern angle, is broken, presumably at its middle, by the ruins of an Ionic Propylon which lie above a flight of steps, apparently later in date. Against this west wall outside is a series of small rooms of later date, probably shops, in one of which a group of bronze vessels was found.

Within the sacred enclosure along the inside of the southern wall run the foundations of a Doric stoa, with a stone (nummulitic limestone) stylobate on a base of mud brick. Whether this is the stoa of the inscription or not we cannot yet say. Within the sacred enclosure in the southwestern corner are the mud brick foundations of small buildings and a large circular brick space, perhaps a sacred pool or tank, the date of which is uncertain.

The site of the Ptolemaic Doric temple has so far not been found. It has not yet been identified in the ruins between the Ionic Propylon and the west front of the Basilica. Perhaps it lies on the axis of the Propylon beneath the nave of the Basilica itself.

Between the west front of the Basilica and the Propylon lies at a much lower level a mud brick building which had been filled in with sand. Probably it was abandoned and filled in when the Ptolemaic sacred enclosure was being laid out at a higher level. It should therefore be pre-Ptolemaic and belong to a yet earlier sanctuary.

In addition to the architectural remains already mentioned there are many pieces of a Corinthian building of the same nummulitic limestone coated with stucco and painted. These include many column drums, capitals, and bases of an Attic Ionic type, a scotia between two tori. The capitals were painted in violet for the ground, orange brown for the stalks, and blue and red for the leaves and flowers. The angle volutes were broken off when the building to which they belonged was dismantled and the capitals were packed together in the foundations of the Basilica. Of this Corinthian structure several blocks combining architrave and frieze are preserved. The architrave has three

horizontal divisions and the frieze was decorated with a design, not yet clear, in blue on a red ground. The foundations of this Corinthian building have not yet come to light and it remains for study of the architrave blocks to determine its plan and show whether it was a temple, a stoa, or some other structure. All this Corinthian architecture is well executed and of good early Hellenistic style and apparently contemporary with the Doric temple.

In these remains we thus have for the first time in Egypt from one site a considerable body of purely Greek architecture of the Ptolemaic period. Nothing similar is yet known from Alexandria, the Fayum, or elsewhere. We have here fortunately preserved for us beneath the floor of the Graeco-Roman Basilica, which is almost certainly not earlier than Hadrian, a large part of a Ptolemaic sanctuary with its temples, its porticoes, and other buildings of the second half of the third century B.C. This is of great value not merely for the history of Ptolemaic culture in Egypt, but for the development of Hellenistic architecture as a whole both in Greece and within the bounds of Alexander's empire.

Alan J.B. WACE

Greek Inscription From The Serapum*

Alan J. B. Wace

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GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SERAPEUM.

The inscriptions here published were found by Mr. Alan Rowe, Director of the Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria, in the course of his excavations at the Serapeum during the winter of 1943—44. He has generously given me permission to publish them here and has most courteously afforded me every facility for doing so.

The ruins which lie around the Column of Diocletian, popularly known as Pompey's Pillar, have now at last been definitely proved to be those of the Serapeum by Mr. Rowe who found in August 1943 a foundation deposit of ten inscribed plaques of gold and other materials in a shallow cutting in the rock beneath the southeast corner of the outer wall of the Ptolemaic enclosure. These plaques which Mr. Rowe is publishing elsewhere(1) date the erection of the great Serapeum from the reign of Ptolemy III, Euergetes Ist. Everyone of the five inscriptions here published also mentions the God Sarapis and belonged originally to some dedication to Sarapis or to Sarapis and Isis and the other gods who were worshipped in the same sanctuary. One of these gods to judge by No. 2 was Harpocrates. In any case the presence of so many dedications to Sarapis on the same site helps to confirm, if any confirmation were needed after Mr. Rowe's discovery of the foundation plaques, the identification of the Pompey's Pillar area as the Serapeum, the great Graeco-Egyptian sanctuary of Alexandria.

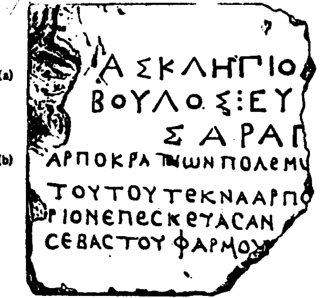
All these fragmentary inscriptions were found in the debris above the corridor and rooms towards the eastern end of the south side of the Ptolemaic enclosure. A plan is being published by Mr. Rowe in his article already quoted.

(1) *Annales du Service des Antiquités* 1944.

One of these inscriptions, No. 1, a, from the excellence of its lettering could be dated early in the Ptolemaic period and therefore in the first half of the third century B.C. In other words it may well antedate the reign of Ptolemy III and consequently the building of the great Serapeum. This then may be taken as supporting Tacitus' statement[1] that a sanctuary of Sarapis and Isis stood on this site, then called Rhakotis, before the construction of the great Serapeum which ultimately became so famous for its size, its magnificence, and its library.

1. Inv. P. 8834.

Statue base of white marble, front left hand corner only; height 0.215 m., width 0.21 m., depth 0.17 m. The height is the actual original height, for the top, bottom and side surfaces are partly preserved. The base bears two inscriptions, the original dedication (a) above and a later addition (b) below. The lettering of (a) is 0.015 m. high and is excellent and obviously of early Ptolemaic date, the early third century B.C. The lettering of (b) is 0.01 m high and probably about the middle of the second century A.D.



(1) *Hist.* iv, 84. The altar from the area round Pompey's Pillar (Breccia, *Alexandria Cat., Iscrizioni Greche e Latine*, No. 6; Schreiber, *Studien über d. Bildniss Alexanders d. Gr.*, p. 251.) which apparently dates from the reign of Ptolemy II supports this.

These may be restored :

(a) Ἀσκλπιόδ [ωρος ⁝ Εὔ-]
-βουλος ⁝ εὐ [ξάμενοι]
Σαράπ [ιδι]

Asklepiodoros and Euboulos in pursuance of a vow to Sarapis.

(b) Ἁρποκρατίων Πολεμῶ [νος καὶ τὰ ἑαυ-]
-τοῦ (του) τέκνα Ἁρπο [κράτει χαριστή]
-ριον ἐπεσκεύασαν [τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔτους . . .]
Σεβαστοῦ Φαρμοῦ [θι . . . .]

Harpokration son of Polemon and his children as a thank-offering to Harpokrates repaired the statue in the year... of Augustus, Pharmouthis the...

The original inscription shows that Asklepiodoros and Euboulos dedicated something, a statue probably, to Sarapis in pursuance of a vow, εὐξάμενοι. This use of εὐξάμενοι is usual and occurs in an Alexandrian inscription published by Breccia(1). The first name must be Asklepiodoros or Asklepiodotos because part of the Δ is preserved. The second name must be some name ending in βουλος and with only one short syllable before it. Euboulos seem the most suitable. The use of ⁝ between words is rare in Alexandrian inscriptions and supports the early date suggested.

The later inscription below records repairs to the statue by Harpokration, son of Polemon, and his children as a thank offering. Presumably the statue which stood on the base was of Harpokrates, but whether of bronze or marble we cannot say. A battered fragment of a head in white marble (P. 8915) was found near this base and may be a head of Harpokrates. The Harpokrates statue may have resembled the one found in the shrine at Ras es Soda(2). Whether this Harpokration was one of the writers of that name we cannot tell. It was, however, a common name among Greeks in Egypt.

At the beginning of line 2 the engraver seems to have carved τοὺ twice in error. We might assume that the first του was an error for EAY, but then line 1 would be too short.

Line 3, references in inscriptions to the repair of statues are rare. The only example I can find is in a fragment from Cyrene[3]. Well known cases of repairs to statues are of course those to the Athena Parthenos[4] and to the Zeus at Olympia[5]. In line 3 ἔτους is suggested for the restoration to make the line the required length. If we wrote L with one or two numerals the line would be short and the fac-simile shows that the lettering is somewhat crowded.

The one word Σεβαστοῦ gives no clue to the date, except that if the inscription were of Trajan's time we might expect Γερμανικοῦ to follow. Φαρμοῦθις in line 4 was the eighth month of the Egyptian year.

2. Inv. P. 9025.

Base (rectangular in plan) of dark grey granite with a moulding along the upper edge, much broken and some pieces missing; 0.19 m. high, 0.41 m. wide below and 0.48 m. wide with moulding, 0.23 m. deep below and 0.30 m. with moulding; moulded edge projects 0.07 m. and its flat upper member is 0.025 m. high. In the top in the centre is a cutting roughly rounded which measures 0.13 m. across and is 0.05 m. deep. In it were two iron dowels run with lead to attach something to the base. Part of one iron dowel and of the lead round it is still preserved. Of the inscription on the moulded edge the fragment with the letters λοκ deos not actually join the rest, but clearly belongs. Its exact position cannot be determined.

The base bears two inscriptions (a) the main inscription on the front of the base and (b) a supplementary inscription

(1) Breccia, *Alexandria Cat., Iscrizioni Greche e Latine*, No. 137.

(2) Adriani, *Annuaire du Musee Gréco-Romain* 1935 — 1939, p. 140, Pl. LVI.

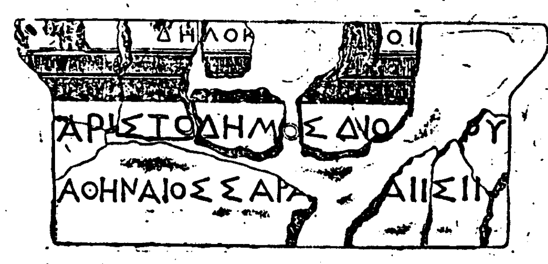
(3) Robinson, *A.J.A.* 1913, p. 176, No. 44.

(4) Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.* 1934, p. 104 ff.

(5) Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.* 1941, p. 399 ff.

on the flat upper member of the moulded edge :—

(a) The main (lower) inscription, the letters of which are 0.02 m. high,



can be restored as :

᾿Αριστ [ό] δημος Διοδ [ώρ] ου
᾿Αθηναῖος Σαρά [πεικ] αὶ ῎Ισιι

Aristodemos son of Diodoros, an Athenian, to Sarapis and Isis.

The lettering is good early Ptolemaic, probably of the Third Century B.C.

In line 1 the father's name must be Διοδώρου or Διοδότου or some similar name for part of the second Δ is preserved.

In line 2 the form Σαράπει is suggested because Σαράπιδι is too long and Σαράπι too short for the space. Σαράπει though not given in Stuart-Jones' new edition of Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon is the form used on the plaques of the foundation deposit of the Serapeum found by Mr. Rowe[1]. The form ῎Ισιι is also not given by Stuart-Jones though ῎Ισει is. If a form Σαράπιι on the analogy of ῎Ισιι were possible it would fit the space even better. For the form Σαράπει we can compare the forms ᾿Οσίρει, ᾿Ανούβει and ῎Ισει[2]. It would appear that in earlier Hellenistic times at least the forms Σαράπει, Σαράπι and ῎Ισει, ῎Ισι were often used. Mr. Iliffe has kindly told me of an inscription[3] in good Hellenistic lettering of

(1) *Annales du Service des Antiquités* 1944.

(2) Dittenberger, *O. G. I.*, No. 60; Breccia, *Alexandria Cat., Iscrizioni Greche e Latine*, No's. 5,23,118.

(3) Palestine Museum, No. 966; Crowfoot, *P. E. F. Q. S.* 1931, p. 141, 1932, p. 17; Roussel, *Rev. Et. Grecques* 1934, p. 253; *Suppl. Epig. Graec.* VIII, 1, No. 95; Crowfoot, *Samaria Buildings*, p. 65 ff.

the third century B.C. found at Samaria which has the forms Σαράπι and Ἴσι. It is a wedge-shaped block of black granite and may be of Egyptian origin.

(b) The supplementary (upper) inscription has letters which are 0.015 m. high.

The position of the fragment λοκ is not determined, but it can hardly come after the letters σι.

We could restore this as :

Δηλοκ [λῆς . . . . 'επ] οί [ησε]

The name Δηλοκλῆς is possible according to Bechtel-Fick[4] and if we restore ἐποίησε or ἐποίει there is just room for a short ethnic name or for a short name in the genitive as the patronymic. A short inscription of this kind is more likely to be an artist's signature than anything else, but no artist of this name is known. The lettering is less careful than that of the main inscription, but can be of the same date, third century B.C.

What stood on this base? What was the dedication of Aristodemus the Athenian? The sinking in the top of the base makes it unlikely that it was a bronze statue; for there are no foot marks, but only a rough cutting approximately circular. (Fig 1). A pillar, square or round in section, could have been the central support of an Apis bull in black granite like the well known one from the Serapeum[1]. An Apis bull in black granite or even bronze would be a most appropriate dedication to Sarapis and since we already possess one example from the Serapeum, it is quite possible that some of the other smaller dedicatory bases like the present example once carried Apis bulls in black granite or bronze as offerings to Sarapis.

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(4) *Griechischen Personennamen*, s.n.

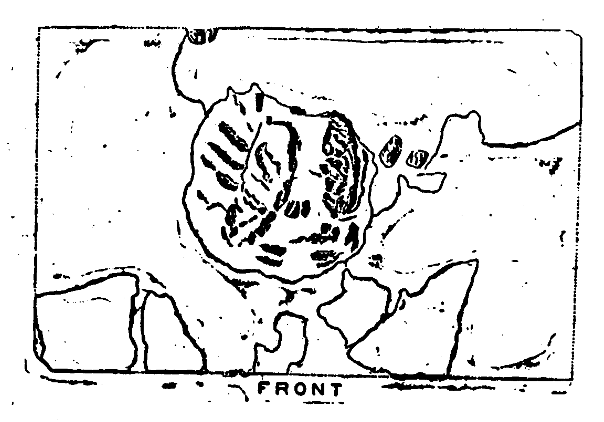
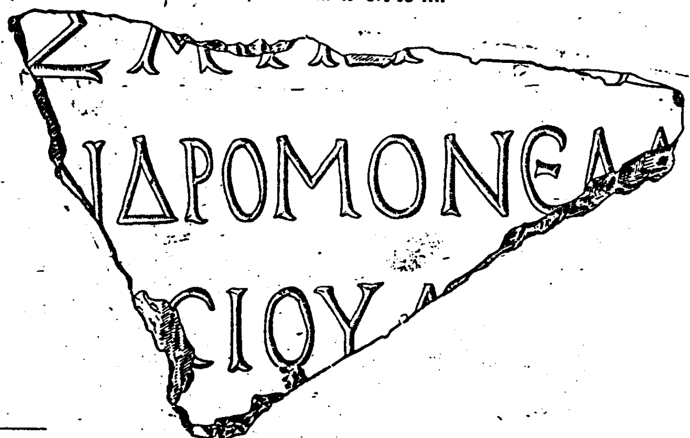


Fig. 1.

3. Inv. P. 8735.

Slab of nummulitic limestone, 0.035 m. thick, two fragments.

(a) Broken on all sides, 0.23 m. x 0.145 m.



(1) Botti, *Catalogue du Musée Gréco-Romain*, p. 316, No. 370 fig.; Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum* (English Edition), p. 114, fig. 47.

(b) Broken on all sides, 0.085 m. x 0.05 m.

The letters are 0.0275 m. high except in the first line of (a) where they were originally taller.



The first (a) may be restored thus :

Σαρά [πιδι]
τὸ]ν δρόμον ελλ . . . .
. . . . σιου
To Sarapis
. . . . the dromos . . . .

The δρόμος was the avenue of approach to an Egyptian temple and Strabo says it was a hundred feet wide and three or four times that in length[1]. It was bordered on either side by a row of sphinxes.

This is the first evidence for the existence of such an avenue at the Serapeum of Alexandria.

The Pseudo-Callisthenes[2] speaks of a δρόμος τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος which was constructed on the course of a canal called Rhakotis existing at the time of the foundation of the city.

The lettering is good and indicates the first century A.D. as the probable date.

4. Inv. P. 9026.



Base of black granite, fragment of front right hand corner, two pieces joined; 0.08 m. x 0.07 m. and 0.06 m. deep. Part of finished surfaces on top, bottom and right side preserved.

The letters are 0.0125 m. high and probably of the second century A.D., perhaps of the Hadrianic or Antonine period.

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(1) See Strabo, xvii 1.28 p. 805; *B.G.U.* iv 1130 1.10; Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, 156 1.52 (Canopic Decree), 178 1. 17 (= Milne, *Cairo Cat.*, *Greek Inscriptions*, No. 9201 p. 20); Plutarch, *de Iside et Osiride*, p. 359 A.   (2) 1 31.4.

This can be restored:—

[Διὶ Ἡλίῳ Μεγάλῳ Σαράπι] δι [καὶ] Θεοῖ [ς]

[συννάοις . . . .] σαλ

. . . . ς

[. . . . . ἔτους' Σε] βαστοῦ

To Zeus, Helios the Great, Sarapis and the Gods in the same temple . . . . in the year . . . of Augustus.

For the restoration compare No. 5 and the references there quoted.

5. Inv. P. 8892.

Slab of grayish white marble, fragment broken at bottom and sides, finished at top; 0.15 m. x 0.13 m. and 0.03 m. thick Letters 0.025 m. high.



This may be restored thus :—

[Διὶ Ἡλί] ῳ Μεγ [άλῳ Σαράπιδι]
[Και τοῖ] ς συνν [άοις Θεοῖς ὑπὲρ]
[σωτηρίας Αὐτοκράτορος Καί-]
[-σαρος . . . .]

To Zeus, Helios the Great, Sarapis and the Gods in the same temple for the safety of Augustus Caesar. . . . . on the analogy of the restored inscription[1] of Hadrianic date on the support of the Apis bull in black granite found in the Serapeum and of other inscriptions[2] found in Egypt and dating from the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian and later. Compare No. 4 above.

This fragment may be dated to the Hadrianic or Antonine period.

Alan J. B.-Wace

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(1) Breccia, *Alexandria Cat.*, *Iscrizioni Greche e Latine*, No. 68.

(2) Dittenberger, *O. G. I.*, No. 678 1, 3; *C. I. G.* No's 4713 and 4713 *e*; Breccia, *op. cit.*, No's 87, 97, 100.

La Guerre D' Alexandrie*

R. Savioz

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LA GUERRE D'ALEXANDRIE

INTRODUCTION

Le titre de *Bellum Alexandrinum* qu'on donne généralement à cet opuscule de 78 chapitres est inexact. Seuls les 33 premiers chapitres ont trait à la Guerre d'Alexandrie, les autres étant consacrés au récit des deux expéditions contre Pharnace, à la guerre d'Illyrie et aux événements d'Espagne. D'autre part, les préliminaires de l'expédition d'Egypte sont narrés par César lui-même dans les 7 derniers chapitres du *De Bello civili*, malheureusement inachevé, dont le *Bellum Alexandrinum* forme la suite.

Ces deux textes se rapportent donc aux mêmes événements, bien qu'ils ne soient pas du même auteur. Ils constituent la source la plus authentique que nous possédions sur cet épisode de la Guerre civile, et sont, en même temps, un document de premier ordre pour l'histoire d'Alexandrie et d'Egypte: « ...l'auteur du *De Bello civili*, est à la fois témoin oculaire et principal acteur des événements qu'il raconte (1) »; quant au *Bellum Alexandrinum*, si l'auteur (2) n'a pas assisté aux différentes péripéties de la Guerre d'Alexandrie, il en a noté les détails sous la dictée de César lui-même.

Le *De Bello civili* a été maintes fois traduit en français: nous nous contentons de donner un sommaire des 7 derniers chapitres (106-112) du troisième livre. Une traduction du *Bellum Alexandrinum* a paru dans le recueil de Nisard intitulé: *Salluste, Jules César, C. Velleius Paterculus et A. Florus* (Firmin-Didot, Paris, 1879. 1 v. in-8, 728 pages.) Elle est de M. Dumas-Hinard. Le traducteur a suivi le texte latin de l'édition Lemaire. Depuis lors, la critique a fait des progrès. Les éditions R. Schneider et A. Klotz, que nous avons utilisées, sont beaucoup

(1) Paul GRAINDOR, *La Guerre d'Alexandrie*, dans: *Recueil de travaux publiés par la Faculté des Lettres*, Le Caire, 1931, 7me fascicule.

(2) On ne le connait pas avec certitude. A s'en tenir à la lettre de la préface du VIII° livre du *De Bello Gallico*, il faut admettre en toute vraisemblance, pense Klotz, qu'Hirtius est l'auteur du *B. A.*

Sommaire des sept derniers chapitres (106-112) du IIIème livre du "De Bello Civili"

Après Pharsale, César passe en Asie, où il ne reste que quelques jours : il est pressé de rejoindre Pompée en Egypte. Arrivé à Alexandrie avec deux légions et 800 chevaux, il apprend l'assassinat de Pompée. Il est accueilli par une population hostile, inquiète de ses succès. Il fait venir aussitôt d'autres légions d'Asie, mais lui-même est retenu dans le port d'Alexandrie par les vents étésiens. Il s'occupe d'abord d'arbitrer le différend qui divisait le roi Ptolémée et sa soeur Cléopâtre. Leur père, Ptolémée Aulètès, avait désigné, par testament, pour ses héritiers l'aîné de ses fils et l'aînée de ses filles, et avait demandé au peuple romain, son allié, de faire observer ses dernières volontés. Mais le jeune roi et sa soeur avaient pris les armes pour décider lequel des deux aurait tout le pouvoir à lui seul. Pendant que César était occupé à aplanir ce différend, l'eunuque Pothin, gouverneur du jeune roi, fait venir de Péluse à Alexandrie, à l'insu de César, l'armée royale, commandée par Achillas. César députe, de la part du roi, vers Achillas Dioscoride et Sérapion, pour connaître ses intentions; mais Achillas les fait assassiner.

Achillas avait une excellente et puissante armée. Il s'empare de la ville, à l'exception du quartier occupé par César au sud du Grand Port, où s'élevait le palais royal. César distribue habilement «ses cohortes à l'entrée des rues» et soutient l'attaque dans la ville. Cependant une menace plus grave le presse au nord. En effet, les ennemis tentent de s'emparer au plus vite de la flotte égyptienne dans le Port Est. Celle-ci comprenait 50 galères revenues au port après Pharsale, 22 autres stationnant d'ordinaire à Alexandrie et beaucoup d'autres bateaux dans les arsenaux. Achillas, maître du port et de la mer, aurait pu intercepter les vivres et les renforts destinés à César. La situation était donc très critique. Aussi César n'hésite-t-il pas à brûler toute cette flotte; et, par une habile manoeuvre, il s'empare de l'îlot sur lequel s'élevait le Phare, bastion qui commandait l'entrée du Grand Port. Par cette action rapide il libère sa propre flotte et peut recevoir désormais librement les secours attendus du dehors. Il augmente les jours suivants ses fortifications dans la ville.

Le *De Bello Civili* se termine par la brève mention de la fuite d'Arsinoë, soeur cadette de Cléopâtre, du palais royal et de l'assassinat de Pothin, administrateur du royaume.

LA GUERRE D'ALEXANDRIE

1. — Quand la guerre d'Alexandrie eut éclaté, César fait venir de Rhodes, de Syrie et de Cilicie toute la flotte; à la Crète il demande des archers; à Malchus, roi de Nabathée [1], des cavaliers; il ordonne de se procurer de toutes parts des machines de guerre et de lui envoyer du blé, de lui amener des troupes. Entre temps, ses fortifications s'augmentent chaque jour de nouveaux ouvrages; et à tous les points de la place forte, qui paraissent moins sûrs, on adapte des tortues et des mantelets [2]; en outre, par des ouvertures pratiquées dans les maisons on frappe à coups de bélier les maisons voisines; et, autant l'on démolit ou, par la force, on gagne du terrain, autant l'on avance les fortifications. Alexandrie est à peu près à l'abri de l'incendie, parce que ses maisons sont construites sans bois de charpente; leur structure est consolidée par des voûtes et elles sont recouvertes de gravats ou d'un carrelage. César cherchait surtout à couper du reste de la ville, en poussant en avant ses ouvrages et ses mantelets, la partie de la place forte qu'un marécage [3] s'avançant du midi rendait très étroite; il considérait,

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(1) La Nabathée était une vaste région s'étendant de l'Euphrate à la mer Rouge. Malchus «avait hérité de son prédécesseur, Arétas, la haine de Pompée et de son parti, et devait être tout disposé à (...) venir en aide» à César. (GRAINDOR, *La Guerre d'Alexandrie*, p. 73). Pompée avait repoussé Aretas de la Palestine en 63 avant J.-C.

(2) Les tortues et les mantelets étaient des ouvrages de défenses de différentes sortes.

(3) Le mot «*palus*» soulève un embarrassant problème topographique. Désigne-t-il le lac Mareotis lui-même ou un marais alimenté par le lac et par le canal dérivé du Nil? A quelques nuances près, c'est à l'une ou à l'autre de ces deux hypothèses que se rangent en définitive les critiques.

Pour M. Graindor le *palus* du *Bellum Alexandrinum* n'est autre que le lac Mareotis. Or cette hypothèse force le sens du mot latin, qui normalement signifie *marécage, marais, étang*, et, de plus, elle entraîne le commentateur dans une explication compliquée sinon invraisemblable. En effet, il ne peut s'agir du lac Mareotis, puisqu'il semble établi que le canal partant de la branche canopique du Nil suivait à peu près le cours du canal Mahmoudieh actuel et séparait sur toute sa longueur la ville d'Alexandrie du lac Mariout, et, par conséquent, ce *palus* du lac. Il est vrai que M. Graindor suppose, en s'appuyant sur Strabon, que «ce canal rejoignait l'extrémité septentrionale du *portus* Mareotis, pour se continuer ensuite vers l'ouest jusqu'au Kibôtos.» M. Graindor ajoute: «En tout cas, il faut absolument renoncer à supposer que le canal contournait le nord du lac Mareotis dans toute la longueur de la ville.». Impossible d'entrer ici dans les détails de la discussion.

Malgré l'autorité de Strabon et de M. Graindor, ce *palus* n'est, à notre avis, ni le lac Mareotis ni son prolongement, mais un marais

d'abord, qu'en divisant la ville en deux parties, la bataille serait dirigée par un commandement unique; ensuite, qu'on pourrait porter secours aux troupes en difficulté et amener du renfort depuis l'autre côté de la place; mais, en tout premier lieu, qu'il aurait de l'eau et du fourrage en abondance; sa quantité d'eau était très limitée; quant au fourrage il n'avait absolument aucun autre moyen de s'en procurer; le marécage pouvait lui en fournir largement l'une et l'autre.

II. — Les Alexandrins, de leur côté, ne mettaient ni hésitation ni retard dans leurs préparatifs. En effet, ils avaient envoyé dans toutes les parties du territoire égyptien, jusqu'aux frontières du royaume, des ambassadeurs et des recruteurs chargés de lever des troupes; ils avaient transporté dans leur place forte des armes et des machines de guerre en grande quantité et groupé une masse considérable d'hommes. En outre, ils avaient installé dans la ville de vastes ateliers d'armes. De plus, ils avaient armé les esclaves adultes; à qui les maîtres assez riches fournissaient la nourriture quotidienne et la solde. A l'aide de tant d'hommes bien répartis ils défendaient les fortifications des quartiers excentriques; ils maintenaient en réserve les cohortes de vétérans dans les endroits les plus fréquentés de la ville de manière que, dans quelque endroit que l'on combattît, elles pussent se présenter avec leurs forces intactes là où il faudrait porter secours. Ils avaient fermé toutes les rues et ruelles avec une triple barricade construite en pierres équarries et n'ayant pas moins de 40 pieds de haut; ils avaient muni toutes les parties basses de la ville de tours très élevées à dix étages. De plus, ils avaient construit d'autres tours mobiles de tout autant d'étages auxquelles ils avaient fixé des roues, et qu'ils déplaçaient, au moyen de câbles et de bêtes de trait, dans les avenues toutes droites, partout où il leur semblait bon.

III. — La ville, très productive et très riche en toutes choses, pourvoyait à ces préparatifs. Les habitants, très ingénieux et d'intelligence très vive, exécutaient eux-mêmes avec tant d'adresse les ouvrages qu'ils nous avaient vu faire, que c'étaient les nôtres qui paraissaient les avoir copiés; ils inventaient aussi beaucoup de choses de leur propre initiative; et, dans le même

s'avançant du côté sud dans la partie est de la ville d'Alexandrie et alimenté par les infiltrations d'eau du canal et peut-être aussi du lac Mareotis. C'est ce qui nous paraît ressortir du texte du *Bellum Alexandrinum*. César, qui n'en était pas éloigné, cherchait à s'y approvisionner en eau et en fourrage, mais Achillas réussit à l'en empêcher.

moment, ils attaquaient nos fortifications et défendaient les leurs. Cependant, voici les propos que leurs chefs tenaient dans les conseils de guerre : Le peuple romain prenait peu à peu l'habitude d'occuper ce royaume. Quelques années auparavant, A. Gabinius se trouvait en Egypte avec son armée (1); Pompée, en fuite, s'y était réfugié; César y était arrivé avec des troupes, et le meurtre de Pompée ne leur avait profité en rien, d'autant moins que César s'attardait chez eux. S'ils ne l'en expulsaient pas, leur royaume deviendrait une province romaine; il fallait agir promptement : car, coupé du dehors par le mauvais temps particulier à la saison, César ne pouvait recevoir des renforts d'outre-mer.

IV. — Cependant un désaccord s'était élevé, comme on l'a montré précédemment (1), entre Achillas, qui commandait les troupes de vétérans, et Arsinoë, fille cadette du roi Ptolémée; ils se tendaient des embûches l'un à l'autre, chacun voulant accaparer tout le pouvoir; poussée par l'eunuque Ganymède, son gouverneur, Arsinoë s'en empare la première et fait assassiner Achillas. Son allié et protecteur mort, Arsinoë détenait tout pouvoir. Elle confie l'armée à Ganymède. Ce dernier, dès son entrée en fonction, augmente ses largesses aux soldats et dirige tout avec une égale vigueur.

V. — Le sous-sol d'Alexandrie contient des galeries pratiquées dans presque toute son étendue; des canaux, communiquant avec le Nil, amènent l'eau dans les maisons particulières, où, avec le temps, elle se clarifie peu à peu et dépose. Les propriétaires des maisons et leurs familles avaient coutume de s'en servir; car celle qu'apporte le Nil est tellement limoneuse et trouble qu'elle engendre toutes sortes de maladies; mais la plèbe devait s'en contenter, parce qu'il n'y a pas de fontaine dans

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(1) Ptolémée Aulètès avait dû se réfugier à Rome par suite de révoltes provoquées par ses exactions. En son absence, les Alexandrins mirent à sa place sa fille, Bérénice, épouse d'Archelaus. Ptolémée obtint du sénat romain l'aide de Gabinius, proconsul de Syrie depuis l'année 57. En 55, Gabinius rétablit sur le trône Ptolémée, après avoir tué Archelaus et Bérénice, massacré un grand nombre de riches et confisqué leurs biens. Il repartit pour la Syrie en laissant en Egypte une partie de ses troupes pour protéger le roi. Ce sont ces mêmes troupes, mentionnées dans le *De Bello Civili* (chap. 110) et dans le *Bellum Alexandrinum* (chap. IV), qui formaient le noyau important de l'armée d'Achillas.

(1) Cf. *De Bello Civili*, III, 112, 11.

toute la ville. Or, ce fleuve [1] coulait dans la partie de la ville qu'occupaient les Alexandrins. De ce fait, Ganymède se rendit compte qu'il pouvait couper l'eau aux nôtres, qui, répartis par quartiers pour défendre les fortifications, puisaient l'eau dont ils avaient besoin dans les citernes et les bassins des maisons privées.

VI. — Son plan arrêté, Ganymède entreprend cette oeuvre importante et difficile. Il commence par boucher les canalisations et couper toutes voies d'accès aux parties de la ville qu'il occupait; puis, au moyen de machines hydrauliques actionnées par des roues, il aspire en masse l'eau de la mer; il en fait couler sans interruption des quartiers supérieurs vers celui de César. C'est pourquoi l'eau qu'on puisait dans les maisons voisines était légèrement plus salée que d'habitude; nos soldats, très surpris, se demandaient comment cela s'était produit; ils avaient de la peine à se fier à leur goût, parce que leurs camarades, postés plus bas, disaient qu'ils buvaient une eau de même saveur que celle qu'ils avaient précédemment l'habitude de boire; en comparant les eaux et en les goûtant, ils se rendirent compte combien elles différaient entre elles. Mais, en peu de temps, l'eau des bassins supérieurs devint absolument imbuvable, tandis que celle des bassins inférieurs s'altérait et prenait de plus en plus un goût salé.

VII. — A cette constatation tout doute disparaît et fait place à une frayeur telle qu'ils se crurent tous réduits à la dernière extrémité; au point que les uns se plaignaient de ce que César tardait à donner l'ordre de s'embarquer; que les autres redoutaient [dans cette opération] un sort beaucoup plus dur, car ils ne pourraient cacher aux Alexandrins les préparatifs de la fuite, étant si peu distants d'eux, ni trouver refuge sur les bateaux sous la pression menaçante des ennemis. Il y avait, en outre, dans le quartier occupé par César un grand nombre d'habitants qu'il n'avait pas expulsés de leurs maisons, parce que, en présence des nôtres ils feignaient d'être fidèles et paraissaient avoir abandonné le parti de leurs concitoyens. En sorte que, si j'avais à soutenir que les Alexandrins ne sont ni fourbes ni téméraires, j'épuiserais en vain toutes les ressources de mon

(1) Le terme latin *flumen* désigne un cours d'eau d'une certaine importance. Cf. *De Bello Gallico*, (I, 12) «*Flumen est Arar*», la Saône; *B.A.* XXIX, 1, *flumen*, canal étroit se déversant dans le Nil. Il s'agit ci-dessus non pas de la branche canopique du Nil, mais du canal qui alimente encore aujourd'hui Alexandrie et connu sous le nom de canal-Mahmoudieh.

éloquence; car quiconque connait à la fois et leur race et leur caractère ne peut douter que ce ne soit l'espèce d'hommes la plus portée à la trahison.

VIII. — César calmait la frayeur de ses soldats en leur montrant des motifs de consolation. On pourrait, affirmait-il, trouver de l'eau douce en creusant des puits; tous les rivages ont par nature des filets d'eau douce; si jamais la nature du littoral égyptien était différente de celle de tous les autres, cependant, puisqu'ils étaient maîtres de la mer et que les ennemis n'avaient pas de flotte, on ne saurait les empêcher d'aller chercher chaque jour de l'eau par bateaux soit à leur gauche, à Paratonium, soit à leur droite, à l'île (1); les vents ne seraient jamais contraires à la fois à la navigation dans l'une et dans l'autre de ces directions. Il ajoutait qu'en tout cas il n'était nullement question de fuir, non seulement pour ceux qui estimaient leur dignité avant tout, mais pas même pour ceux qui ne songeaient qu'à leur salut; que c'était une question importante de résister aux attaques des ennemis depuis les retranchements; qu'en les abandonnant ils seraient désavantagés et par leur position et par leur nombre; que, d'autre part, monter

(1) L'identification de *Paratonium* et de l'île en question continue à embarrasser les historiens. Voici, en bref, les précisions qu'apporte M. Graindor: Au Xme livre de la *Pharsale*, Lucain mentionne une *Paraetonia urbs*, qui désigne, d'après le contexte, Alexandrie elle-même. «Dans ce nom poétique semble s'être conservé le seul souvenir d'un quartier d'Alexandrie ou de sa banlieue, évidemment voisin de la côte, puisqu'il était synonyme d'Alexandrie». Non loin de ce quartier, à l'ouest de la ville devait se trouver une source d'eau. Ce n'est pas là une simple hypothèse, puisque le B. A. y fait allusion (X, 2). Elle se trouvait «près du promontoire de Chersonèsos, à 70 stades à l'ouest d'Alexandrie». César la connaissait. «C'est là qu'il ira faire provision d'eau lorsqu'il se portera au-devant de la XXXVII[e] légion et c'est là sans aucun doute qu'il faut chercher l'emplacement de l'énigmatique Paraetonion».

Quant à l'île, M. Graindor, après avoir rejeté diverses hypothèses invraisemblables, conclut: «Sur la droite de César il n'existait guère que les îles de la rade d'Aboukir, telle celle qui porte aujourd'hui le nom de Nelson. Elle n'est qu'à 25 kilomètres environ d'Alexandrie, c'est-à-dire à une distance qui permettait aisément de s'y rendre et d'en revenir en un jour. Sans doute est-ce là ou dans un des îlots voisins qu'il faudrait chercher l'*insula* dont il est question dans le *Bellum Alexandrinum*. A moins qu'il ne s'agisse d'une île disparue sous les flots, comme Anthirrodos». (*La Guerre d'Alexandrie*, p. 83-84). M. E. Combe dit que les Croisés au moyen âge s'approvisionnaient en eau dans les citernes de l'île Nelson, réservoirs d'eaux de pluie. Ces citernes remontaient à une haute antiquité. Elles existaient sans doute déjà au temps de César. Il paraît donc évident que l'*insula* du *B.A.* est l'île Nelson actuelle. Cf. *Bulletin de la Soc. royale d'Archéol. d'Alex.*, No. 24, 1928, art. E. COMBE, *Le nom arabe de l'île Nelson*.

à bord des bateaux, surtout en s'aidant de barques, exigerait beaucoup de temps et de peine; que les Alexandrins avaient pour eux l'avantage d'une extrême agilité et d'une connaissance parfaite des lieux et des édifices; qu'une victoire les rendrait particulièrement audacieux et qu'ils occuperaient les hauteurs et les maisons, et qu'ainsi ils empêcheraient les nôtres de s'embarquer pour fuir; qu'ils devaient, par conséquent, renoncer à un tel projet et ne penser qu'à vaincre à tout prix.

IX. — Après avoir ainsi harangué ses soldats et réveille leurs bonnes dispositions, César charge les centurions de transmettre l'ordre d'interrompre tous les autres travaux et de réunir tous les efforts pour creuser des puits, sans se relâcher aucun moment de la nuit. Grâce à cette entreprise, à laquelle chaque homme s'appliqua avec ardeur, on trouva en une seule nuit de l'eau douce en quantité suffisante. Ainsi, par un travail de courte durée, on fit échouer les manoeuvres compliquées des machines et les suprêmes efforts des Alexandrins. Deux jours plus tard, la trente-septième légion, composée de soldats de Pompée qui s'étaient soumis et que Domitius Calvinus (1) avaient embarqués sur des navires de transport avec du blé, des armes offensives et défensives, des machines de guerre, fut entraînée vers les côtes d'Afrique un peu au-delà d'Alexandrie. Le vent du sud-est, qui soufflait sans trève depuis plusieurs jours, avait empêché ces navires de gagner le port; mais toute cette région a des endroits excellents pour jeter l'ancre. Comme ils y étaient retenus depuis longtemps et qu'ils souffraient du manque d'eau, ils dépêchèrent à César un aviso pour l'en informer.

X. — Afin de pouvoir décider par lui-même ce qu'il y avait à faire, César monte sur un navire et ordonne à toute sa flotte de le suivre; il n'embarque aucun soldat avec lui, car, comme il devait passablement s'éloigner, il ne voulait pas dégarnir les retranchements. Quand il arriva près de l'endroit appelé Chersonèse, il envoya à terre des rameurs pour faire provision d'eau; quelques uns d'entre eux, s'étant trop éloignés des navires pour se livrer au pillage, furent pris par des cavaliers ennemis. Les Alexandrins apprirent de ces prisonniers

(1) Cneius Domitius Calvinus, consul en 53, commandant du centre de l'armée de César à Pharsale, fut chargé par César de gouverner les provinces romaines d'Asie. Il eut à lutter contre Pharnace. (*B.A.*, ch. XXXIV - XLI).

que César lui-même était venu avec la flotte et qu'il n'avait pas de soldats à bord. Ce renseignement leur fit croire que la fortune leur offrait une belle occasion de mener à bien l'affaire. C'est pourquoi ils chargent de combattants tous les bateaux en état de naviguer et se portent à la rencontre de César qui s'en retournait avec sa flotte. César ne voulait pas combattre ce jour-là pour deux motifs : Il n'avait pas de soldats à bord et la 10[me] heure du jour (1) était déjà passée; or, la nuit donnerait plus d'assurance, lui semblait-il, aux ennemis qui pouvaient compter sur leur connaissance des lieux; elle lui ôterait à lui-même jusqu'à l'avantage d'encourager les siens, car un encouragement n'est pas assez efficace, si l'on ne peut noter les actes de bravoure ou de lâcheté. C'est pourquoi César dirigea vers la côte les navires qu'il put; il ne pensait pas que les ennemis l'y suivraient.

XI. — Un navire de Rhodes, à l'aile droite de César, s'était placé à l'écart du reste de la flotte. Les ennemis, l'ayant remarqué, ne peuvent se contenir; ils foncent sur lui impétueusement avec quatre navires pontés et beaucoup d'autres découverts. César fut contraint de lui porter secours pour ne pas subir en face un honteux affront; bien que, si quelque chose de grave était arrivé à ces maladroits, ils l'eussent bien mérité, pensait-il. Le combat fut engagé avec une grande vigueur de la part des Rhodiens; comme ils s'étaient distingués dans tous les combats par leur tactique et leur bravoure, ils ne se refusèrent pas à soutenir tout le poids de l'attaque dans cette circonstance surtout, pour qu'on ne pût leur reprocher un revers éventuel dû à la négligence de leurs hommes. C'est pourquoi l'issue du combat fut très heureuse. Une quadrirème ennemie fut capturée, une autre coulée, deux autres dégarnies de tous leurs équipages; en outre, un grand nombre d'hommes furent massacrés sur les autres navires. Si la nuit n'avait mis fin au combat, César se serait emparé de toute la flotte ennemie. Ce revers consterna les ennemis. Malgré un léger vent debout, César fit remorquer jusqu'à Alexandrie par ses navires victorieux les bateaux de transport.

XII. — Les Alexandrins furent d'autant plus accablés par ce désastre qu'ils se voyaient vaincus non par la bravoure des soldats romains, mais par l'habileté des hommes de notre

(1) 5 heures de l'après-midi.

flotte [1]... ils se retirèrent dans les lieux supérieurs afin de pouvoir se défendre depuis les maisons et de s'y retrancher en entassant toutes sortes de matériaux, parce qu'ils craignaient encore une attaque de notre flotte même près du rivage. Quand Ganymède eut promis dans le conseil de remplacer les navires perdus et d'augmenter le nombre de bateaux, les Alexandrins, pleins d'espoir et de confiance, se mirent à radouber les vieux bateaux et s'adonnèrent avec beaucoup de soin et de diligence à cette besogne. Et, bien qu'ils eussent perdu plus de cent dix navires de guerre dans le port et les arsenaux [2], cependant ils ne renoncèrent pas au projet de restaurer leur flotte. Ils voyaient bien, en effet, que César ne pourrait recevoir ni renforts ni vivres, si eux-mêmes avaient une puissante flotte : en outre, ces hommes nés marins, exercés dès leur enfance et par une pratique quotidienne aux usages d'une ville et d'une région maritimes, désiraient recourir à un élément qui était pour eux un avantage naturel et familier; et ils se rendaient compte à quel point leurs petites embarcations leur avaient servi [3]; aussi s'appliquèrent-ils de tout leur zèle à réparer leur flotte.

XIII. — A toutes les bouches du Nil des vaisseaux montaient la garde pour exiger les droits d'entrée. Il y avait aussi au fond des arsenaux du palais royal de vieux navires qui n'avaient plus servi à la navigation depuis de longues années. Ils radoubèrent ces derniers, ramenèrent les autres à Alexandrie. On manquait de rames; on démollit la toiture des portiques, des gymnases, des édifices publics; les poutres servirent de rames; l'habileté naturelle des habitants procura telles choses, la richesse de la ville en fournit telles autres. Enfin, on ne préparait pas une navigation lointaine, mais on pourvoyait à la nécessité du moment, et on savait que la bataille se livrerait dans le port même. Aussi, en peu de jours et contre l'attente générale, achevèrent-ils 22 quadrirèmes, 5 quinquérèmes, auxquelles vinrent s'ajouter un grand nombre de plus petits ba-

(1) Lacune dans le texte latin.

(2) César incendia la flotte égyptienne au début des hostilités. Cf. *Sommaire*, p. 76; *B.C.*, CXI.

(3) Allusion aux attaques répétées à l'improviste contre les vaisseaux de César. Dion Cassius, plus explicite que l'auteur du *B.A.*, dit que Ganymède réussit à brûler ou à capturer des navires de transport romains. (DIO, XLII, 40, 2.) Plus bas, au chap. XIX, le *B.A* contient une allusion plus précise à ces faits; il est question de navires que les Alexandrins «avaient coutume d'envoyer par les passages sous les deux ponts (de l'Heptastade) pour incendier les transports de César».

teaux non pontés. Et, après avoir essayé dans le port même à la rame chacun de ces bateaux, les Alexandrins les chargèrent de soldats d'élite et s'apprêtèrent à combattre de tous leurs moyens. César avait 9 navires de Rhodes (des dix qui lui avaient été envoyés un avait échoué en route sur le littoral égyptien). 8 du Pont, 5 de Cilicie, 12 venant d'Asie. Dans ce nombre on comptait [...] quinquérèmes et 10 quadrirèmes; les autres navires étaient de plus petite dimension et la plupart non pontés. Cependant, confiant dans le courage de ses soldats et renseigné sur les troupes ennemies, il se préparait au combat.

XIV. — Quand, les deux adversaires, furent arrivés chacun à une pleine confiance en ses forces, César contourne l'île de Pharos avec sa flotte et vient ranger ses navires face à l'ennemi : à l'aile droite il place les navires rhodiens, à l'aile gauche, ceux du Pont. Entre eux il laisse un intervalle de 400 pas, distance qui lui paraissait suffisante pour que les navires pussent manoeuvrer. Derrière cette ligne il dispose en réserve les autres bateaux de la flotte; il désigne expressément à chacun l'unité qu'il doit suivre et soutenir. Sans hésitation les Alexandrins font avancer leur flotte et la range en ligne de bataille : en première ligne ils placent 22 navires; au second rang ils disposent en réserve le reste de leur flotte. Ils font sortir encore un bon nombre de bateaux plus petits et de barques chargés de traits incendiaires et de torches, dans l'espoir de terrifier les nôtres par leur nombre, leurs cris et les flammes. Il y avait entre les deux flottes une passe étroite et des bas-fonds, qui s'étendent jusqu'à la côte d'Afrique (c'est pourquoi on dit que la moitié d'Alexandrie appartient à l'Afrique) (1); on attendit assez longtemps de part et d'autre pour voir qui prendrait l'initiative de traverser la passe; car, celui qui s'y engagerait serait vraisemblablement fort embarrassé, et pour déployer sa flotte et pour se retirer, si la situation devenait trop critique.

XV. — La flotte de Rhodes avait à sa tête Euphranor, dont la grandeur d'âme et la bravoure bien connues lui avaient valu d'être choisi par les Rhodiens pour commander leur flotte. Remarquant l'hésitation de César, il lui dit : «César, il me sem-

(1) Les anciens géographes ne sont pas d'accord sur la frontière qui sépare l'Asie de l'Afrique. Les uns la placent sur l'étroite bande de terre qui va de Port-Said à Suez; d'autres, sur le Nil; certains la reculent encore plus à l'ouest et considèrent l'Egypte comme faisant partie de l'Asie. C'est à cette dernière opinion que paraît se ranger l'auteur du *B.A.*

ble que tu crains, en engageant le premier tes navires dans ces bas-fonds, d'être contraint de combattre avant d'avoir pu déployer le reste de la flotte. Confie-nous cette opération : nous soutiendrons le poids de la lutte et nous ne tromperons pas ta confiance, en attendant que le reste de la flotte nous suive. C'est vraiment pour nous une grande honte et une grande peine de voir ces gens-là nous braver plus longtemps». — César l'encourage, le comble d'éloges, puis donne le signal du combat. Quatre des navires rhodiens traversent la passe; les Alexandrins les entourent et foncent sur eux. Les Rhodiens soutiennent le choc et manoeuvrent avec art et habileté; et leur tactique réussit si bien que, malgré la disproportion numérique, aucun navire ne s'expose de flanc à l'ennemi, aucun ne laisse enlever ses rames, mais tous s'avancent toujours proue en avant contre les vaisseaux ennemis. Entre temps, le reste de la flotte les a rejoints. Alors, faute de place, il faut renoncer à la manoeuvre, et l'issue du combat ne dépend plus que de la bravoure. A Alexandrie tous les nôtres et tous les habitants délaissèrent les travaux de défense ou d'attaque, tous gagnèrent les terrasses des maisons ou cherchaient place n'importe où pour assister au combat; chacun faisait des prières et des voeux aux dieux immortels pour la victoire des siens.

XVI. — Au reste, l'enjeu de la bataille était tout à fait différent pour les uns ou pour les autres. En effet, dans le cas d'une défaite, les nôtres seraient bloqués par terre et par mer; victorieux, ils auraient devant eux toute l'incertitude de l'avenir. Tandis que, si les Alexandrins l'emportaient avec leur flotte, ils seraient maîtres de tout; vaincus, ils pourraient cependant tenter une dernière chance. C'était en même temps pénible et pitoyable de voir un très petit nombre combattre pour les plus graves intérêts et pour le salut de tous; si l'un d'eux venait à manquer de fermeté ou de courage, tous les autres auxquels il n'aurait pas été donné de combattre pour eux-mêmes devraient également capituler. C'est ce que César avait répété les jours précédents aux siens pour les engager à combattre avec d'autant plus de courage qu'ils voyaient le salut commun entre leurs mains. Et chacun avait adressé les mêmes exhortations à un camarade, à un ami, à une connaissance, le suppliant de ne pas tromper son attente ni celle de tous ceux qui l'avaient judicieusement choisi pour prendre part au combat. Aussi combattit-on si bravement que l'habileté ni l'art ne furent d'aucun secours aux ennemis habitués à la mer et à la navigation;

que, malgré leur supériorité numérique en navires, le grand nombre ne leur servit de rien; que leurs combattants, choisis d'après la valeur personnelle parmi une telle masse d'hommes, ne purent égaler la bravoure des nôtres. On prit au cours de la bataille une quinquérème et une birème avec les soldats et l'équipage, et on en coula trois autres sans que les nôtres ne subissent de perte. Le reste prit la fuite vers la ville, qui n'est pas éloignée; là les ennemis défendirent leurs bateaux du haut des môles et des édifices qui dominent la mer et empêchèrent les nôtres de s'en approcher.

XVII. — Pour éviter que de tels événements ne se reproduisent à l'avenir, César estima qu'il fallait mettre tout en œuvre pour s'emparer de l'île (1) et de la jetée y conduisant. Il venait, en effet, d'achever en grande partie ses fortifications dans Alexandrie; il était plein d'espoir de pouvoir attaquer en même temps l'île, la jetée et la ville. Cette décision prise, il fait monter dans de petits bateaux et dans des barques dix cohortes et des cavaliers gaulois armés à la légère, choisis parmi ceux qu'il jugeait les plus capables; et, pour diviser les troupes ennemies, il fait attaquer avec ses navires pontés l'autre côté de l'île (2), après avoir promis de grandes récompenses à celui qui prendrait l'île le premier. Tout d'abord, les ennemis soutinrent dans l'ensemble l'assaut des nôtres. En effet, en même temps qu'ils combattaient du haut des terrasses des maisons, des soldats bien armés défendaient le rivage, dont l'escarpement n'offrait pas un accès facile aux nôtres; et ils gardaient l'entrée étroite de la rade avec des esquifs et 5 navires de guerre habilement manoeuvrés. Mais, après avoir pris connaissanec des lieux et sondé les gués, quelques uns des nôtres prennent pied sur le rivage; ils sont bientôt suivis par d'autres; ils attaquent aussitôt avec vigueur les ennemis qui se pressaient sur la plage; tous les Pharites tournent le dos. En les voyant fuir, la garde du port quitte son poste, aborde avec ses bateaux le rivage près de la bourgade, et se précipite hors des navires pour défendre les maisons.

(1) Il s'agit de l'île Pharos et non de la petite ile sur laquelle s'élevait le Phare, reliée à l'ouest à la grande ile par une courte jetée. La petite île était tombée entre les mains de César au début des hostilités. Cf. *Sommaire*, p. 76 et *B.C.*, III, 112.

(2) Sur le côté où fut déclenchée cette attaque cf. GRAINDOR, *La Guerre d'Alex.*, p. 107 - 108.

XVIII. — Cependant, les ennemis ne purent résister bien longtemps depuis leurs fortifications, bien que les maisons ne fussent pas, toutes proportions gardées, d'un autre genre que celles d'Alexandrie, que de hautes tours, reliées entre elles, tinssent lieu de rempart et que les nôtres n'eussent emporté avec eux ni échelles ni claies ni rien de ce qui est nécessaire pour un siège. Mais la peur enlève aux hommes la raison et la détermination, paralyse leurs membres, comme il arriva alors. Ces mêmes hommes qui eussent été capables de résister en terrain plat et uni, effrayés de la fuite des leurs et du massacre d'un petit nombre, n'osent pas rester dans des maisons de trente pieds de haut; ils se précipitent du môle dans la mer et se sauvent à la nage vers la ville, distante de 800 pas. Toutefois beaucoup d'entre eux furent pris et tués; tandis que le nombre des prisonniers s'éleva en tout à 6000 (1).

XIX. — César, ayant accordé le butin aux soldats, les invita à piller les maisons. Il fit élever un fortin à la tête du pont le plus rapproché de Pharos et y établit une garnison. Dans leur panique les Pharites avaient abandonné ce pont; les Alexandrins défendaient l'autre plus solide et plus près de la ville. Mais, le lendemain, César l'attaque de la même manière, parce qu'en occupant ces deux ponts il lui semblait empêcher toute irruption de la part des bateaux ennemis et les brigandages soudains. Déjà il avait délogé les défenseurs de ce pont au moyen de catapultes placées sur les navires et en lançant des traits, et les avait refoulés dans la ville; déjà il avait envoyé à terre trois cohortes environ, car l'étroitesse de la jetée ne permettait pas qu'un plus grand nombre s'y établît; le reste des troupes était maintenu aux postes sur les bateaux. Ces dispositions prises, César donne l'ordre d'élever des palissades sur le pont du côté de l'ennemi et d'obstruer en le comblant de pierres le passage ouvert aux navires ennemis sous l'arche qui soutenait le pont. Le second ouvrage achevé, il était absolument impossible à une barque de passer; mais le premier était à peine commencé que toutes les troupes des Alexandrins s'élancèrent hors de la ville et se massèrent sur la place assez spacieuse en face des retranchements, tandis que les navires qu'ils avaient coutume d'envoyer par les passages sous les deux ponts pour incendier les transports de César vinrent se poster près de la jetée. Nous combattions du haut du pont et de la jetée;

(1) Cf. ch. XII, note 3.

les Alexandrins, depuis l'esplanade qui précédait le pont et depuis les navires disposés le long de la jetée.

XX. — Pendant que César était occupé à diriger les opération et à exhorter les fantassins, les rameurs et les hommes d'équipage quittent en grand nombre nos bateaux de guerre et s'élancent sur la jetée, les uns poussés par la curiosité d'assister au combat et les autres aussi par l'envie d'y prendre part. D'abord à coup de pierres et de frondes ils écartèrent de la jetée les bateaux ennemis et semblaient produire un grand effet par le nombre de leurs projectiles. Mais bientôt une poignée d'Alexandrins audacieux débarquèrent au-delà de cet endroit sur le flanc découvert des Romains; comme ces derniers s'étaient avancés sans les enseignes, en désordre et à la légère, ils se mirent de même à se réfugier inconsidérément sur leurs navires. Enhardis par leur fuite, les Alexandrins quittèrent en plus grand nombre leurs bateaux et attaquèrent plus vigoureusement nos soldats pris de panique. En même temps, ceux des nôtres qui étaient restés à bord, se hâtent de retirer les échelles et d'écarter du môle leurs navires, de peur que l'ennemi ne s'en empare. Consternés par tous ces événements nos soldats des trois cohortes qui s'étaient postés sur le pont et à l'entrée de la jetée, entendant derrière eux de grands cris, voyant fuir leurs camarades, ayant à faire face à une grêle de projectiles, craignent d'être enveloppés par derrière et d'avoir la retraite tout à fait coupée par suite de l'éloignement de nos vaisseaux: ils abandonnent le retranchement commencé à la tête du pont et, dans une course précipitée, cherchent à atteindre nos navires. Une partie d'entre eux trouvent place sur les bateaux les plus proches, qui coulent sous le nombre et le poids des hommes; ceux qui tiennent bon et hésitent sur le parti à prendre sont massacrés par les Alexandrins; d'autres, plus heureux, atteignent les vaisseaux légers à l'ancre et s'éloignent sains et saufs; un petit nombre, se protégeant de leurs boucliers et comptant sur leur courage, gagnent à la nage les embarcations voisines.

XX. — César, occupé à exhorter les siens tant qu'il put à tenir ferme sur le pont et près des retranchements, courut le même danger; quand il les voit tous plier, il se retire sur son navire. Comme un grand nombre de soldats s'y précipitent à sa suite et qu'il est impossible de manoeuvrer ni de s'écarter de la jetée, César, pressentant ce qui allait arriver, s'élance du bateau et gagne à la nage les navires qui s'étaient arrêtés plus

loin (1). De là, il envoie des barques au secours des siens en détresse et en sauve un certain nombre. D'ailleurs, le navire qu'il venait de quitter sombra sous le grand nombre de soldats et périt avec les hommes. Dans ce combat on eut à regretter la perte de 400 légionnaires environ et d'un peu plus de matelots et de rameurs. Les Alexandrins construisirent à la tête de ce pont un fortin qu'ils renforcèrent au moyen de puissants retranchements et de nombreuses machines de guerre; ils retirèrent de l'eau les pierres entassées sous l'arche du pont et utilisèrent librement par la suite le passage pour lancer leurs embarcations contre César.

XXII. — Nos soldats, loin de se laisser troubler par cet échec, pleins d'ardeur et de zèle, redoublèrent d'efforts pour attaquer les ouvrages ennemis dans une lutte quotidienne; et chaque fois que l'occasion se présentait, ils en venaient aux mains avec les Alexandrins, qui faisaient des sorties précipitées (1)... les exhortations prodiguées par César ne réussissaient pas à modérer ni les efforts des légionnaires ni leur envie de se battre, de sorte qu'il fallait plutôt les contenir et les détourner de combats si dangereux que les exciter à la lutte.

XXIII. — Quand les Alexandrins se rendirent compte que les succès affermissaient les Romains et que les revers les excitaient; qu'eux-mêmes ne connaîtraient pas une troisième fois à la guerre la chance de pouvoir être les plus forts, agissant, comme nous pouvons en déduire par conjecture, soit sous l'instigation des amis du roi demeurés dans les garnisons de César, soit de leur propre initiative après communication faite au roi par des messagers secrets et après en avoir reçu l'approbation, ils envoient une ambassade à César pour lui deman-

(1) Dans le *B.A.*, on le voit, il n'est question ni du manteau de pourpre que César aurait abandonné «pour ne pas servir de cible aux Alexandrins et pour nager plus facilement», ni des documents importants qu'il aurait tenu élevés au-dessus de l'eau en nageant. La légende du manteau de pourpre abandonné n'est pas invraisemblable: Dion, Appien, Florus, Suétone en parlent; son historicité n'a pas été contestée. Mais l'anecdote des papiers paraît suspecte, bien qu'elle soit rapportée par plusieurs auteurs anciens. Les historiens modernes la rejettent avec raison. «Outre que le *Bellum Alexandrinum* n'en fait aucune mention, remarque M. Graindor, on se demande comment César aurait réussi à préserver ces papiers du contact de l'eau puisqu'il fut obligé de plonger pour sortir de la barque et échapper aux coups de l'ennemi (...) Enfin, on ne comprend pas pourquoi César emportait avec lui des documents de telle importance, alors qu'il aurait pu les laisser en sûreté dans son camp».

(1) Lacune dans le texte latin.

der de congédier leur roi et de lui permettre de passer chez les siens, les ambassadeurs font valoir que tout le peuple, dégoûté du gouvernement provisoire d une jeune fille (1) et de la domination cruelle de Ganymède, était prêt à faire ce que le roi ordonnerait que, si avec son approbation ils promettaient à César loyauté et amitié, la crainte d'aucun danger ne retiendrait le peuple de se soumettre

XXIV. — César ne connaissait que trop cette nation perfide, toujours prête à feindre des sentiments qu'elle n'a pas; il jugea cependant à propos d'accorder aux Alexandrins la faveur qu'ils demandaient s'ils étaient vraiment sincères dans leurs revendications, le roi congédié, croyait-il, demeurerait fidèle; si, au contraire, comme cela était plus conforme à leur caractère, ils voulaient avoir le roi pour chef dans la conduite de la guerre, il y aurait plus de gloire et plus d'honneur pour lui César de faire la guerre à un roi qu'à une bande d'aventuriers et d'esclaves transfuges. C'est pourquoi, après avoir exhorté le roi à veiller sur le royaume de ses pères, à épargner son glorieux pays déjà honteusement ravagé par le feu et d'autres fléaux, à ramener d'abord ses sujets à la raison, à les y maintenir, à être loyal envers le peuple romain et envers lui César, qui lui témoignait une si grande confiance en le rendant à ses ennemis armés. César, prenant la main du jeune roi déjà grand (1) s'apprêtait à le congédier. Mais le souverain, instruit dans l'art de feindre, pour se montrer digne de sa race, se mit à supplier en pleurant César de ne pas le congédier : Il lui serait moins agréable de régner, assurait-il, que de jouir de la présence de César Après avoir séché les larmes du jeune roi, César, ému lui-même, le renvoya chez les siens en l'assurant que, s'il était sincère, ils seraient bientôt réunis. Comme si on l'avait lâché de prison et mis en liberté, ce prince se mit à mener si vivement la guerre contre César que les larmes qu'il avait versées lors de leur entretien étaient, croyait-on, des larmes de joie. Oue telle chose se fût produite, nombre de lieutenants, d'amis, de centurions et de soldats de César n'en étaient pas fâchés, parce que sa bonté excessive avait été le jouet de la fourberie d'un enfant. Comme si César avait été vraiment amené à agir ainsi par pure bonté et non par un calcul très sage.

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(1) Arsinoë, soeur cadette de Cléopâtre

(1) Ptolémée devait avoir alors 13 ans: il était de 8 ans plus jeune que Cléopâtre Cf SCHNEIDER. *B.A.* ch 24. note 3, p. 19.

XXV. — Les Alexandrins s'aperçurent qu'en s'étant donné un chef ils n'en étaient pas devenus plus puissants ni les Romains, plus faibles. Ils éprouvèrent une grande amertume de voir leurs soldats se railler de la jeunesse et de l'incapacité du roi; ils se rendirent donc compte qu'ils n'avaient rien gagné. En outre, des bruits couraient que de grands renforts étaient amenés à César par voie de terre depuis la Syrie et la Cilicie: ce qui n'avait pas encore été annoncé à César; ils décidèrent d'intercepter les convois de vivres qui arrivaient aux nôtres par mer. C'est pourquoi ils postèrent en embuscade des navires rapides aux endroits propices près de Canope, pour guetter au passage nos navires. Dès que la nouvelle lui parvint, César fait équiper et appareiller sa flotte. Il en confie le commandement à Tiberius Néron (1). Partent avec cette flotte les navires de Rhodes et avec eux Euphranor, sans lequel jamais un combat naval n'avait été livré, en tout cas aucun sans un bon résultat. Cependant la fortune qui, d'ordinaire, réserve ceux qu'elle a comblés de faveurs pour un sort plus rude, la fortune, différente d'autrefois, était devenue contraire à Euphranor. En effet, dès qu'on se fut approché de Canope et qu'on eut rangé de part et d'autre les flottes en ligne de bataille, elles entrèrent en action. Selon son habitude, Euphranor engage le premier le combat. Il transperce et coule sur place une trirème ennemie. Tandis qu'il poursuit la trirème voisine, le reste de notre escadre étant trop lent à le suivre, il est entouré par les Alexandrins. Personne ne lui porte aide, soit qu'on pense qu'il a assez de ressources en lui étant donné son courage et sa chance, soit que chacun craigne pour soi. Ainsi le seul qui se distingua dans ce combat périt seul avec sa quadrirème victorieuse.

XXVI. — Vers le même temps, Mithridate de Pergame (1), homme de naissance illustre, qui s'était distingué à la guerre par son talent et sa bravoure, fidèle et digne ami de César, avait été envoyé en Syrie et en Cilicie au début de la guerre d'Alexandrie pour y recruter des troupes auxiliaires. Grâce aux dispositions les plus favorables des habitants de ces

(1) Le questeur Tiberius Claudius Néron, père du futur empereur Tibère.

(1) «Fils de Ménodotos et de la princesse galate Adobogiana, Mithridate, lorsqu'il était tout jeune encore, avait été emmené à la cour par Mithridate Eupator et était resté de nombreuses années auprès de lui, si bien qu'il passait pour son fils naturel. En tout cas, c'est à l'école de ce fameux guerroyeur qu'il apprit l'art de la guerre et devint un général dont la science n'était pas moins prisée que la bravoure» (GRAINDOR, *La Guerre d'Alex.*, p. 126-127).

pays et à sa diligence personnelle, il avait réussi à rassembler rapidement de nombreuses troupes avec lesquelles il arriva à Péluse par la route de terre qui relie l'Egypte à la Syrie. Achillas avait fait occuper par une forte garnison cette place forte à cause de son emplacement favorable. En effet, l'Egypte tout entière est pour ainsi dire gardée par deux portes, Pharos et Péluse (2) qui y donnent accès l'une par mer, l'autre par terre. Mithridate la fit investir à l'improviste par de nombreux effectifs, malgré la résistance acharnée des multiples garnisons ennemies. Grâce au grand nombre de ses troupes fraîches, qu'il envoyait relever celles qui étaient décimées ou fatiguées, grâce aussi à ses assauts opiniâtres et constants, il emporta cette place le jour même où il l'avait attaquée et y établit sa garnison. Après cet heureux exploit, il poursuit sa marche vers Alexandrie pour rejoindre César (3). Revêtu du prestige qui entoure d'ordinaire un vainqueur, il pacifie toutes les contrées qu'il traverse et les contraint à se déclarer pour César.

XXVII. — Il y a un endroit qu'on appelle Delta, pas très loin d'Alexandrie, généralement le mieux connu de toutes ces contrées; il a reçu ce nom de sa ressemblance avec la lettre grecque : en effet, un bras dérivé du Nil se divise en deux branches laissant entre elles un espace qui va s'élargissant progressivement jusqu'au moment où elles se jettent dans la mer, où le littoral forme entre elles l'intervalle le plus large (1). Quand le roi apprit que Mithridate s'approchait de cet endroit et sa-

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(2) Peluse était située à «20 stades de l'embouchure du Nil» (STRABON, XVII, 1, 21). Cette ville était reliée au Nil par un canal, ce qui permit à Mithridate de faire participer sa flotte à l'assaut de la place forte. (DIO, XLII, 41, 1 - 3).

(3) L'auteur du *Bellum Alexandrinum* ne donne aucun détail sur la marche de Mithridate de Péluse jusqu'à l'endroit où eut lieu la bataille décisive décrite au chapitre suivant. Mithridate ne pouvait songer à traverser le Delta en ligne droite de Peluse à Alexandrie pour rejoindre César: les bras du Nil et les nombreux canaux auraient trop retardé sa marche. Il se dirigea donc vers le sud choisissant ainsi la voie la plus longue, qui contournait le Delta.

(1) Quel est l'endroit que le *B.A.* appelle Delta et où faut-il situer le lieu de la bataille décisive entre les troupes de Ptolémée et celles de César et de Mithridate? Ces deux problèmes n'ont pas reçu jusqu'aujourd'hui de solution définitive. La difficulté vient, d'une part, de l'imprécision des textes, et, d'autre part, des profondes modifications topographiques, en particulier du Nil, des canaux et du lac Mareotis depuis le temps où se sont déroulés les événements jusqu'à nos jours. Impossible de relater ici les débats entre les historiens relatifs à ces problèmes. Impossible également d'entreprendre une discussion nécessairement longue et complexe. Nous essayerons de préciser les princi-

chant qu'il avait le fleuve à traverser, il envoya en avant de nombreuses troupes avec lesquelles il croyait pouvoir vaincre et détruire Mithridate ou sans aucun doute l'arrêter. Or, bien qu'il souhaitât le vaincre, il lui suffisait cependant de l'empêcher de rejoindre César. Ces troupes d'avant-garde, qui purent traverser le fleuve depuis le Delta et rencontrer Mithridate, se hâtèrent d'engager le combat pour ne pas avoir à partager l'honneur de la victoire avec celles qui les suivaient. Mithridate, grâce à sa grande prudence, soutint leur assaut en se retranchant, selon notre usage, dans son camp. Mais quand il les vit s'approcher imprudemment et insolemment des retranchements, il fit une sortie de tous côtés et en massacra un grand nombre. Si les autres n'avaient réussi, grâce à leur connaissance des lieux, à se mettre à l'abri ou, en partie, à se retirer sur les na-

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paux points sur lesquels doit porter l'étude minutieuse des textes, de la topographie et des opinions émises.

Tout d'abord, de quel Delta s'agit-il dans le *Bellum Alexandrinum?* Les anciens distinguaient trois Deltas. Strabon, par exemple, dit qu'on appelle Delta l'espace compris entre les deux branches extrêmes du Nil et le littoral et aussi l'extrémité ou la pointe de ce Delta, ainsi que, en troisième lieu, le village situé à cette extrémité. Le texte du *Bellum Alexandrinum* manque de précision. Voici, pour notre part, comment nous le comprenons: Le Delta, tel qu'il y est décrit, ne peut être le grand Delta de Strabon ni même l'un des deux autres, car dans le *Bellum Alexandrinum* il est question de la division d'*une branche* du Nil — et non du Nil encore entier — en deux autres branches. Il nous paraît évident qu'il s'agit de la branche ouest du Nil, qui se divise à son tour pour former les branches canopique et bolbitique. Par Delta le *Bellum Alexandrinum* désigne donc l'espace compris entre ces deux branches et la mer. L'endroit (*locus*) où s'opère le partage des eaux est bien connu (*nobilissimus*) et pas très loin (*non ita longe*) d'Alexandrie. Le récit fort vague de la marche des armées peut très bien se concilier avec la description précédente. Mithridate, après la prise de Péluse, s'est dirigé vers le sud. Arrivé dans la région de Tell El Iahoudieh, il eut à traverser d'abord la branche de Damiette. Quand Ptolémée apprit qu'il allait traverser le fleuve (*transeundum ei flumen*), c'est-à-dire la branche ouest, (sans doute immédiatement avant que celle-ci ne se divise en branches canopique et bolbitique) le roi envoie des troupes pour arrêter Mithridate dans sa marche. L'avant-garde de ces troupes venant du Delta (*a Delta*) (de celui qui est formé par les branches canopique et bolbitique) se hâte d'engager le combat avec l'armée de Mithridate, retranchée dans son camp à l'*est* du Nil. Mithridate la met en déroute. Malgré des attaques sporadiques de l'ennemi, il réussit à passer le Nil et se dirige vers le nord en suivant cette fois la rive ouest du Nil, plus précisément celle de la branche canopique. Il dépêche entre temps un courrier à César pour lui demander de l'aide. Les troupes royales avertissent, de leur côté, Ptolémée du danger qu'elles courent.

Ptolémée, dont la flotte patrouille à l'embouchure de la branche canopique, embarque de nouvelles troupes et part avec elles en direction du sud. Il prend position sur la colline décrite dans le *Bellum Alexandrinum*. César se hâte lui aussi d'aller à la rencontre de Mithri-

vires sur lesquels ils avaient traversé le fleuve, ils auraient été complètement détruits. Dès qu'ils se furent un peu remis de leur frayeur et qu'ils furent rejoints par les troupes qui les suivaient, ils recommencèrent à attaquer Mithridate

XXVIII. — Mithridate envoie à César un messager pour lui rapporter ce qui s'était passé. Le roi en est également averti par les siens. De sorte que le roi et César partent presque en même temps, l'un pour écraser Mithridate, l'autre pour l'accueillir. Le roi prit le chemin le plus court en naviguant sur le Nil, où il avait une flotte nombreuse toute prête. César ne voulut pas choisir le même itinéraire dans la crainte d'un combat naval sur le fleuve; il fit donc un détour par la mer qu'on dit faire partie de l'Afrique, comme nous l'avons remarqué plus haut (1); il rencontra cependant les troupes du roi avant que ce dernier n'eût pu attaquer Mithridate et accueillit ce général victorieux avec son armée intacte. Le roi avait pris position avec ses troupes sur une hauteur pourvue de défenses naturelles.

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date. Pour éviter un combat sur le Nil, il fait un détour par mer jusqu'à l'ouest d'Alexandrie. Il y fait débarquer son armée et suit la rive sud du lac Mareotis. Il rejoint Mithridate avant que celui-ci n'ait été attaqué par Ptolémée. La suite du récit est suffisamment claire et détaillée.

Mais où situer la colline sur laquelle le roi s'était retranché et où il fut battu? Sans vouloir essayer de déterminer exactement cet endroit nous croyons, avec M. Graindor, qu'il faut le chercher le plus près possible d'Alexandrie «La position des Egyptiens, écrit M. Graindor, était, probablement, à une journée au plus d'Alexandrie: c'est ce qui résulte du texte de Dion relatif à la marche de nuit de César autour du lac Mareotis et de notre restitution des *fasti Caeretani*, qui suppose que la victoire et la capitulation d'Alexandrie datent du même jour». (*La Guerre d'Alex.*, p. 150). Il faudrait donc «définitivement renoncer à l'hypothèse suivant laquelle c'est près d'Ilkam, à 130 kilomètres d'Alexandrie, que Ptolémée fut définitivement vaincu». (*Ibid.*, p. 144). A qui objecterait l'impossibilité de contourner en une nuit le lac Mareotis par le sud, depuis Chersonèse jusqu'au Nil, nous répondrions que l'étendue de ce lac était beaucoup moins grande qu'elle ne l'est aujourd'hui, comme l'a démontré M. E. Combe (*Alexandrie musulmane*, extrait du *Bulletin de la Soc. royale de Géographie d'Egypte*, p. 101 et ss.) Si le lac s'étendait très loin au sud et à l'ouest pendant la crue du Nil, il se réduisait à une lagune peu spacieuse à la période des basses eaux. Or c'est précisément durant cette période qu'a eu lieu la bataille du Nil où Ptolémée périt. En effet, d'après M. Graindor (*op. cit.*, p. 147), c'est le 27 mars que fut remportée la victoire finale. C'est l'époque de l'année où les nuits sont les plus longues.

En tenant compte de ces différentes données et hypothèses, on peut conclure que c'est entre l'extrémité sud-est du lac Mariout et la branche canopique du Nil qu'il faut chercher l'emplacement du camp de Ptolémée.

(1) Voir chap. XIV

de sorte qu'il dominait la plaine de toutes parts; de trois côtés il était protégé par des défenses de différentes sortes : un côte s'appuyait au Nil; un autre était défendu par une élévation assez haute pour protéger le flanc du camp; un troisième était bordé par un marécage.

XXIX. — Entre ce camp et le chemin suivi par César coulait un canal étroit aux rives très escarpées, qui se jetait dans le Nil; il était éloigné d'environ 7000 pas du camp royal. Quand le roi eut appris que César arrivait de ce côté, il envoie vers le canal toute sa cavalerie et l'élite de son infanterie légère pour empêcher César de le traverser et pour engager avec avantage le combat du haut de la rive. En effet, le courage ne servait à rien ni la lâcheté n'avait de danger à craindre. Cette situation affecte vivement nos fantassins et nos cavaliers : ils luttent depuis longtemps sans résultat contre les Alexandrins. C'est pourquoi, en même temps que les cavaliers germains cherchent çà et là des gués et qu'un certain nombre d'entre eux traversent à la nage le canal à un endroit où les bords en étaient moins escarpés, les légionnaires abattent des arbres assez grands pour relier les deux rives, les couchent d'une rive à l'autre, les recouvrent de matériaux de fortune et passent ainsi le canal. Les ennemis redoutent tellement l'attaque de ces intrépides guerriers qu'ils cherchent leur salut dans la fuite, mais en vain; car peu de fuyards réussissent à se réfugier auprès du roi; presque tout le reste est massacré.

XXX. — Après ce brillant exploit, César jugeant que son intervention subite sèmerait une grande panique parmi les Alexandrins, marche aussitôt en vainqueur sur le camp du roi. Comme il le voit puissamment retranché et muni de défenses naturelles et qu'il aperçoit la foule compacte des soldats ennemis postés sur les retranchements, il renonce à faire avancer pour assiéger le camp ses soldats fatigués par la marche et le combat. Il campe donc à peu de distance de l'ennemi. Mais, le jour suivant, il attaque avec toutes ses troupes et prend d'assaut un fortin que le roi avait élevé dans le village voisin non loin de son camp et qu'il avait relié aux défenses du camp par des lignes de communication pour tenir le village; non que César jugeât la position difficile à emporter avec un moins grand nombre de soldats, mais il voulait par cette victoire effrayer les Alexandrins et assiéger immédiatement après le camp du roi. Ainsi d'un même bond nos soldats poursuivent les Alexandrins s'enfuyant du fortin vers le camp, arrivent au pied des

retranchements et de là engagent le combat avec la dernière vigueur. Ils avaient la possibilité d'attaquer de deux côtés : de l'un, où l'accès, je l'ai signalé, était libre; de l'autre, où il y avait un espace restreint entre le camp et le Nil. Les troupes les plus nombreuses et les meilleures des Alexandrins défendaient le côté dont l'accès était le plus facile; ils réussissaient en particulier à repousser et à blesser les nôtres qui attaquaient du côté du Nil : en effet, nos hommes recevaient des projectiles de directions diverses : de face, du retranchement du camp; par derrière, des frondeurs et des archers qui les attaquaient depuis les nombreux navires postés sur le Nil.

XXX. — Quand César vit que ses soldats ne pouvaient combattre avec plus d'acharnement, sans cependant progresser beaucoup à cause de leur situation désavantageuse; qu'il observa que les Alexandrins avaient abandonné la partie supérieure du camp, soit parce qu'elle se défendait d'elle-même soit que les défenseurs se fussent précipités sur le lieu du combat, les uns pour participer, les autres pour assister à la bataille, il donne l'ordre aux cohortes de contourner le camp et d'en attaquer la hauteur. Il confie le commandement de ses troupes à Carfulenus, homme aussi remarquable par sa grandeur d'âme que par sa science militaire. Quand elles y furent parvenues, elles ne rencontrèrent qu'un petit nombre de défenseurs de la position contre lesquels nos hommes luttent avec vigueur; les Alexandrins épouvantés par les cris qui s'élèvent de divers côtés et par l'attaque inopinée, se mettent à courir précipitamment dans toutes les directions du camp. La panique des Alexandrins anime à tel point le courage des nôtres qu'ils envahissent presque simultanément la position de toutes parts, cependant que les plus avancés s'emparent du sommet du camp; ils dévalent de cette hauteur et massacrent un grand nombre d'ennemis dans le camp. Pour échapper au danger, la plupart des Alexandrins se précipitent en masse du haut des retranchements vers le côté du camp qui touchait au Nil. Les premiers d'entre eux furent écrasés dans le fossé même du retranchement sous les lourdes décombres; les autres purent ainsi fuir plus facilement. Il est certain que le roi lui-même s'échappa du camp et se réfugia sur un navire qui coula sous le grand nombre de ceux qui cherchaient à atteindre à la nage les vaisseaux les plus proches, et qu'il se noya.

XXXII. — Après un succès si heureux et si rapide, César, avec l'assurance que lui donne une grande victoire, se hâte vers Alexandrie avec sa cavalerie par le chemin de terre le plus

court et pénètre en vainqueur dans la ville du côté qui était occupé par la garnison ennemie. Il ne se trompa point en comptant que les ennemis à la nouvelle de cette défaite ne songeraient plus désormais à la guerre. Il recueillit, à son arrivée, le fruit bien mérité de sa bravoure et de sa grandeur d'âme. En effet, tous les habitants de la ville jettent les armes et abandonnent leurs retranchements; ils prennent les habits dont les suppliants ont coutume de se revêtir pour implorer la grâce des vainqueurs; ils se font précéder de tous leurs objets sacrés à la faveur desquels ils avaient l'habitude d'adresser leurs supplications à leurs rois justement irrités; ils se portent au-devant de César pour lui offrir leur soumission. César les prend sous sa protection, leur adresse quelques paroles de consolation, puis traverse les retranchements des ennemis et arrive dans le quartier de la ville occupé par les siens, qui le comblent de félicitations; ils ne se réjouissaient pas seulement de l'issue favorable de la guerre elle-même et des combats, mais également de son heureux retour.

XXXIII. — César, maître de l'Egypte et d'Alexandrie, y établit les rois que Ptolémée (1) avait désignés dans son testament et qu'il avait supplié le peuple romain de ne pas changer. En effet, l'aîné des deux fils étant mort, il remet le pouvoir au plus jeune et à l'aînée des deux filles, Cléopâtre, qui était demeurée sous sa protection dans ses garnisons. Quant à Arsinoë, la cadette, sous le nom de laquelle Ganymède, avons-nous dit, avait régné longtemps en tyran, il décida de l'emmener hors du royaume (2) pour éviter qu'elle ne rallume une nouvelle dissension à l'aide d'hommes séditieux, avant que le temps n'ait affermi l'autorité des rois. Ramenant avec lui la sixième légion composée de vétérans, il laissa en Egypte les autres légions pour mieux assurer le pouvoir des rois, qui ne pouvaient pas se faire aimer de leurs sujets, parce qu'ils étaient demeurés loyaux envers César, ni avoir le prestige que procure l'ancienneté, n'étant établis rois que depuis peu de jours. Il estimait qu'il était et de la dignité de notre empire et de l'intérêt public de les protéger avec nos garnisons, si ces rois demeuraient fidèles; de pouvoir les châtier avec ces mêmes garnisons, s'ils se montraient ingrats. Après avoir ainsi accompli et disposé toutes choses, César partit pour la Syrie par voie de terre.

(1) Ptolémée Antitis.

(2) Arsinoë fut emmenée à Rome, où, d'après Dion, elle figura au triomphe de César en 46 et assassinée, dans le temple d'Artémis, à Ephèse, après la bataille de Philippe. Cf. GRAINDOR, *op. cit.*, p. 159

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Lutfy Abul - Wahhab Yehya

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ON THE QUESTION OF THE ALEXANDRIAN SENATE IN PTOLEMAIC EGYPT.

By

LUTFY ABDUL-WAHHAB YEHYA

No decisive evidence has yet come to light on the much debated question of the Alexandrian senate. However, in view of the many controversial opinions which appeared on various points related to it, a reassessment and fresh interpretation of the evidence at hand might not fail to present the matter in a new light and to clarify some of its details.

The question falls broadly in two parts. The first is whether Alexandria had a senate at all when it was first founded and the second is, if it did have one, whether that senate (which was not in existence from the time of the Roman conquest until the reign of Septimius Severus) was abolished by Octavian or disappeared sometime during the Ptolemaic rule.

The first half of the querry was started by Mommsen who declared that neither Alexandria nor Ptolemais could have possessed any deliberative assemblies, whether an *ἐκκλησία* or a *βουλή*, since such constitutional organs which where the mainstay of autonomous rule in Greek cities, were simply incompatible with a monarchy so firmly based on divine rule as that of the Ptolemies [1].

This assertion which was followed by Bouché-Léclerq and Tarn [2], was partly shaken by the discovery in Egypt, in 1896 [3], of three decrees passed by the senate and assembly of Ptolemais and the matter is now practically settled to the advantage of those opposing this view after the

1. Mommsen, Römische Gesch. vol. V p. 557.

2. Bouché-Leclerq, Hist. des Lagides vol. III pp. 152 ff.; Tarn, Hellenistic Civilisation (3rd. ed.) p. 185.

3. Dittenberger, O.G.I. I, 47, 8, 9.

discovery of the letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians in which he refers to their claim that they had a senate under their old Kings[1]. However, in view of the 1952 edition of Tarn's *Hellenistic Civilisation* in which the existence of such a senate is still denied, a brief reexamination of the claim of the Alexandrians and a quick review of the opinions expressed round it might not be out of order.

The claim of the Alexandrians, it could be said, might not be true, since Claudius refers to it by simply saying *οὐκ ἔχωι λεγειν.*, But the Alexandrians could not have told such a flagrant lie. First, this would stand against their interests in the long run as it would soon be discovered by Claudius, whether through his own knowledge or otherwise. Secondly, he would have simply faced them with their lie and would not have been bound to resort to the many precautions which he took in his reply when he said that it was not an ordinary request and should therefore be examined in the light of his own interests and of what was good for the city and finally that he would entrust this inquiry to his prefect Aemilius Rectus[2].

Thus it was not that he did not know, but rather that he had nothing to say on the matter of their having had a senate under their old Kings. He chose to ignore those kings and their period and was going to be bound only by the precedent of the Roman emperors, especially Augustus, whose policy he followed and respected. And what he decided to ignore must have been to the advantage of the Alexandrians, otherwise his reply to them would have been that they were trying to get from him what their own kings never gave them.

Besides, providing Alexandria with a senate would not have stood in the way of a monarchical centralised rule. Greek cities have kept their senates and assemblies under similar conditions when they passed under Macedonian hegemony after Chaeronnea and the formation of the Hellenic Union and even after Alexander showed them the strong hand. And it would be a weak argument to say that Alexandria was a new foundation and would therefore not confront Alexander or the Hellenistic rulers with the obligation of recognising an already existing

1. Bell, (P. Lond.) Jews and Christians in Egypt, 1924; See Hunt and Edgar, Select Papyri, II, no. 212, p. 84, ll. 66—72.

2. Jouguet, Les Assemblées d'Alexandrie à l'Époque Ptolemaïque, (B)ull. de la (S)oc. d'(A)rch. d'(A)lexandrie, (1948) pp. 73 ff.

constitutional organ as was the case in the cities which were comprised in the Hellenic Union, since other cities also founded in the Hellenistic period, such as Antioch, were provided with such organs.

Again, the first Hellenistic rulers tried their best to attract the Greeks to their kingdoms and to tempt them to settle there permanently. In the case of the Ptolemies those Greeks would form the backbone of their striking force in the battlefield while their experience in matters of administration and economical planning would be an indispensable element. Under such circumstances, a primary condition would be to provide a Greek atmosphere to those immigrants — in which case the creation of deliberative assemblies. if they had not already been provided by Alexander, would be a foregone conclusion.

In view of these considerations although Alexandria belonged, in reality, to a new type of cities different from the old πολεις, to use Tarn's discription,[1] the existence of a Senate in that city, from the time of its foundation, or at least from the beginning of the Ptolemaic rule should not be a matter of question. The qustion should be rather how much authority was vested in it in order to provide the autonomous form which would satisfy the sentiments of the immigrant Greeks who longed for a city-state atmosphere, without standing in the way of the cenralised system of govennment which the Ptolemies chose to adopt.

After this brief survey it would be reasonable to start my treatment of the subject with the assumption that the Alexandrian Senate did exist at the beginning of the Ptolemaic rule. The problem now is the time of its disappearance; whether this happened under Augustus, at the beginning of Roman rule, as part of the changeover to the new era or whether it took place at an earlier date. The method I shall follow will be, first, to reexamine the literary and documentary evidence known to us on the subject and then to discuss some social and economic circumstances which prevailed in Egypt towards the middle of the Ptolemaic period and which were likely to have a bearing on our question.

1. Op. cit p. 185.

I will start with the inscription published by E. Breccia and restored by Plaumann[1]. The restoration, which is very plausible, records a decision passed by the demos and senate of Alexandria and reads as follows :

'Εφ' ἱερέως Διοτέλους Τε[..........]
['Απολλοδώρου γραμματέ[ως τῆς βουλῆς (?)]
[Πρυτά]νεων τῶν σὺν Σωσ[..........]
[......τρ]ίτηι φθίνοντος· [ἔδοξε τῆι βου-]
5 [λῆι και τῶι] δήμωι· πρυτά[νεων γνώμη·]
['Επειδὴ.....]νιος Δωριέ[ως........]
[ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς και φιλ ?]ότιμος ἐ[γένετο περὶ]
[τὴν πόλιν τῶν 'Αλεξανδ ?]ρέων [..........]
[..................] Λ. [............]

I cannot see on the inscribed stone at the Graeco Roman Museum, Alexandria, the oblique trace which appeared clearly to Plaumann before ρεων (8th. line) in Breccia's photograph, since the broken edge of the stone is well rounded by erosion and age — a trace which must have belanged to a thin Δ according to Jouguet.[2] It is evident, however, as Plaumann remarked, that the preceding letter must have been a triangular letter which was most probably a Δ.

This appears clearly from a comparison of the distance between the letters where a Δ or a P come in question. The distance between a P and a preceding E (which could also stand for plain vertical letters) is 2—3 mms. as in the first line of the inscription. When the preceeding letter is an Ω — a rounded letter — the distance reaches half a cm., as in the second and sixth lines. The distance we have before the P in ρεων to the edge of the broken stone is 9 mm. and we still have no trace of a letter. This is only compatible with a Δ since the distance between this letter and a following vertical letter (similar to the P) is 9—10 cmm. as in the case of the Δ I in the first line.

1. E. Brecia, Iscrizione Greche e Latine, no. 164, Pl. XXVI, 64; G. Plaumann, Bemerkungen zu den Ägyptischen Eponymendatierungen aus Ptolemaïscher Zeit, Klio, XIII pp. 485—90.

2. Op. cit.

The origin of the inscription, however, is open to dispute. The mention of the prytaneis in it has given rise to the possibilily that it might have come from Rhodes.[1] Although this has a precedent in the inscription of Abu Mandour[2], Jouguet contends that this latter showed signs of the Dorian dialect while there is northing in our inscription to stand against its Alexandrian origin. But the disputed origin is not the only weak point in it. There is nothing to indicate the time at which it had been inscribed and therefore it does not provide us with a date at and before which the senate was still in existence — a fact which might have helped us in deciding, broadly, the time of its disappearance.

A second piece of evidence in this respect is the papyrus pulslished by Girolamo Vitelli and Medea Norsa. The text contained in it is the arguments put forth by an Alexandrian embassy to "*καῖσαρ*" in praise of a senate. Although the publishers see in it a plea by the Alexandrians submitted to Augustus in order not to dissolve their senate[3], Oliver sees in it a request for a senate which they did not have and prefers to add it, on philological and other grounds, to the literary texts which were called the Acts of the Heathen Martyrs which always deal with an embassy before the emperor and in which the emperor is frequently referred to as *καῖσαρ* [4]. Schubart places it at the time of Claudius basing his opinion on the fact that in his letter to the Alexandrians he mentions that their request for having a senate was the frist of its kind — which is incompatible with the supposition that they submitted a similar request under Augustus [5]. Again on linguistic and other grounds Bell takes it to be "a semi-literary text based on official acta which records the proceedings of an Alexandrian embassy to Octavian either during his stay in Egypt or more probably at a later period or just possibly of an embassy to Claudius, sent to ask for the grant of a senate". [6]

1. Plaumann, op. cit.; see also A. Wilhelm, Beiträge zur Griechischen Inschriftskunde, p. 379.

2. Jouguet, La Vie Municipale dans l'Égypte Romaine, Paris, 1911, p. 27.

3. Resconto di una *πρεσβετεια* di Alessandrini ad Augusto, B. S. A. A, XV, suppl., pp. 9 — 11.; also by them, Sul papiro della *ΒΟΥΛΗ* d'Alessandria B.S.A.A., XVII.

4. J. H. Oliver. The *βουλη* papyrus, Aegyptus XI, pp. 165—7.

5. W. Schubart, Die *βουλη* von **Alexndria, Bulletin** de l'Inst. Fr. d'Arch. Orientale, XXX p. 407, ff.

6. Bell. The Problem of the Alexandrian **Senate, Aegyptus**, XII, pp. 173—184.

I am on the side of those who assign it to the reign of Claudius The reason is that the main approach is common to both the request of this embassy and the Claudian letter to the Alexandrians In their request, the members of the embassy enumerate the benefits of the senate to their city and to the government. This is the same line adopted by Claudius in his letter when he says ἄδηλον εἰ συνοίσει τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς πράγμασει...κτλ.

However, even if it were an official document addressed to Augustus whether at the time of the conquest or shortly after that, the text, as mentioned earlier, still falls short of any definite indication as to whether it is a request to establish a senate which did not exist before or an appeal not to abolish one which was already there and therefore we cannot depend on it as decisive evidence in our querry·

Thus we fall back on the three texts which usually form the basic evidence on the question. The two passages in Dio Cassius and Spartianus and Claudius' letter to the Alexandrians. Of these I will start with Dio's passage [1]. After talking about the special circumstances which made Augustus treat Egypt in a different way to the other parts of the Empire, Dio goes on to describe the special constitutional measures which Augustus took in the case of its inhabitants. For the convenience of the discussion I shall quote the passage in full ·

Οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις βουλεύειν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐφῆκεν ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ὥς ἑκάστοις, τοις δ' Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν ἄνευ βουλευτῶν πολιτεύεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν· τοσαύτην που νεωτεροποιίαν αὐτῶν κατέγνω. καί σφων οὕτω τότε ταχθέντων τὰ μὲν ἄλλα και νῦν ἰσχυρῶς φυλάσσεται, βουλεύουσι δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἐπι Σεουήρου αὐτοκράτωρος ἀρξάμενοι καὶ ἐν τῃ Ῥώμῃ, ἐπ' Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ υἱέος αὐτοῦ πρῶτον ἐν τὴν γερουσίαν ἐσγραφέντες.

The sentence τοις δ'Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν... to ἐκελευεσθε· can be taken, without any straining of the meaning to denote that in the case of the Alexandrians he (Augustus) commanded them to conduct their government or political life without senators – the reference being to

1. Dio Cassius LI, 17.

the members of an Alexandrian Senate. However, Schubart,[1] who is now followed by Bell, contends that ἄνευ βουλευτῶν refers to Rome and not to Alexandria. The argument put forth is that he was talking, at the beginning of the passage, about depriving the Egyptians from membership of the Roman Senate (this would be a special measure different from what was followed in other parts of the Empire, such as Gaul, where natives enjoyed Roman citizenship)[3] and therefore the rest of the passage should also refer to Rome, in which case the depriving of Alexandrians from the membership of the senate should simply be taken as a specification after he talked in general terms about the Egyptians as a whole.

This interpretation, however, meets with some difficulties. The first of these lies in the fact that Dio transfers his narrative from talking about Egypt's relation with Rome to describing its internal political life in the country before he talks about the Alexandrians— a fact which gives the description a purely local character. The description of the country's populousness, its wealth and the fickleness of its inhabitants had compelled Augustus to take certain precautions. Egypt was not going to be entrusted to anyone from the Roman senatorial class, nor was any Roman senator going to be allowed to enter the land without the express, and personal permission of Caesar. The sentense *οὐ μεντοι...* to *ἐν τῇ 'Ρωμῃ* is a natural completion to this relation between Egypt and Rome. The writer now starts to talk about the constitutional measures taken inside the country. Proof of this is provided by the fact that he talked about the other cities or places in Egypt before he started to talk about the Alexandrians — *ἀλλα τοῖς μεν ἄλλοις ὡς ἑκάστοις*. The reference in *ὡς ἑκάστοις* must be to purely local conditions as these places (or their inhabitants) did not have any official or constitutional relations with Rome before. The description of the constitutional status of Alexandrians follows immediately in the same sentence and is governed by the same infinitive — *πολιτεύεσθαι*. In this case his reference to the Alexandrians cuold not have been a specification after a general description of Egypt's relation with Rome on account of the interceding sentence in which he talks about the internal affairs of the country.

1 Op. cit.

2 Op. cit.

3 Suet. Vespas. 9. Tacitus, Ann., 3, 55

position as a front line defence against any encroachments upon the eastern frontiers of the Empire by the Parthians or the Nabataeans or any troublesome neighbours from that direction. by its central positson which commanded the commercial routes between the east and west and last. but not least, by its agricultural wealth which would make it a granary for the citizens of Rome big enongh to balance, to his advantage, the corn producing senatorial province of Africa—endowed with all these advantages Egypt was no ordinary addition to the Roman Empire and in particular, to Augustus' official sphere of influence within that Empire. Again, its geographical structure made it easy for any strong person (or, what is worse, any organised body) to have a centralised government with everything firmly in his grip and to be, therefore, a continuous source of trouble for him.

There, then, was the line that separated what was desirable from what was necessary. If he was going to prohibit the members of the Roman senate from entering Egypt unless he gave them personal permission, he was not going to establish an Alexandrian senate[1]. To the request of the Alexandrians his answer would be a firm *No*. His policy of leniency was not going to entangle him into a promise where he did not want to give one. He would be no more compromising then than when he gave a flat refusal to the invitation which they extended to him to visit the tombs of the kings or the sanctuary of Apis.

* * *

I shall deal now with the letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians, which is the second text bearing on our question. The lines[2] which concern us directly are:

> *περὶ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ὅ τι μεν ποτε σύνηθες | ὑμεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλέων οὐκ ἔχωι λεγειν, ὅτι δε ἐπι τῶν | πρὸ ἐμοῦ Σεβαστῶν οὐκ εἴχεται (εἴχετε) σαφως οἴδατε. Καινοῦ δὴ | πραγματος νῦν προτων (πρῶτον) καταβαλλομένου ὅπερ ἄδηλον εἰ συνοί | σει τῇ πόλει και τοῖς ἐμοῖς πράγμασει ἔγραψα Αἰμιλλιωι Ῥήκτωι | διασκέψασθαι και δηλῶσε (δηλῶσαι) μοι εἴ ται (τε) καὶ συν είστασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν δεῖ | τόν δε τρόπον, εἴπερ ἄρα συνάγειν δὲν (δεοι), καθ' ὅν γενήσηται τοῦτο.*

1. Dio Cassius, LI, 17.

2. ll. 66—72.

I will divide the argument of Claudius, contained in these lines into three parts. The first part is where he talks about the existence of the senate ἐπι τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλέων. The line which the emperor follows here is simply to ignore the period of the kings which leaves us, at first sight, in the dark as to the fate of the senate in that period. This means that it was either there all the time till the Romans came or was abolished sometime under the Ptolemies. The first possibility I shall deal with when I talk about the next part of Claudius' argument. As to the first possibility—that the senate was abolished by the Ptolemies — the main criticism directed to it is that advanced by Milne. If that were the case, runs his argument, it would have been impolitic for the Alexandrian envoys to mention the Ptolemaic arrangements at all. Claudius could have replied "you say that you had a senate under your owr kings, but your owr kings took it away from you; they who lived among you and knew you intimately judged that you ought not to have one."[1]

This assumption follows from Milne's rendering of ἐπι τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλεῶν simply as "the kings of the old dynasty", thus making the adjcetive ἀρχαιων qualify the Ptolemaic kings in general as a dynasty. But here I would rather have the literal, direct and obvious meaning — the old kings, i.e. the first kings as contrasted to the ones who came after them. This would naturally imply a certain amount of defence, on the part of the Alexandrian envoys, of the policy of the earlier kings and a comparison with the policy of the later Ptolemies whom the envoys would naturally present in a dark picture in order not to weaken their owt argument.

This line of approach, apart from not weakening their argument, is not unreasonable in view of two considerations. First, it is a fact that the late Plotemies followed a line of harsh policy against the Alexandrians. The savage treatment which these had at the hands of Euergetes II whose massacres almost depopulated the city and the long struggle between them and Ptolemy Auletes during which they suffered from his intrigues, massacres, assassinations, the use of a Roman general, Gabinius, and Roman troops against them and from the financial exactions at

1. A History of Egypt under Roman Rule (3rd. ed. 1924), p. 284.

the hands of his Roman minister of finance Rabirius[1] — all these must have impressed upon the Alexandrians a sharp distinction between the rule of the first and later Ptolemies.

The second consideration is that the Alexandrians knew, from personal experience with Augustus, that the Roman emperors ignored the Ptolemaic kings while they showed their admiration to Alexander, the founder of Alexandria.[2] It would be natural for the Alexandrians, in this case, to try to connect the period of the first — i.e. the old — Ptolemies with the tradition of Alexander while they would show their acceptance of, and good will towards, the new Roman regime by lining with the emperors — especially when they request them for a favour — in attacking the later Ptolemies. The approach of the Alexandrians would be that they enjoyed a senate under the first Ptolemies who were true adherents to the principles of Alexander and they only lost it when the later Ptolemies deviated from this tradition. It would be this contrast expressed in the phrase ἐπι ἀρχαίων βασιλέων that would be calcutated to undermine any argument on the part of Claudius that their own kings took their senate away from them — and that might be another reason why the emperor found it more convenient not to discuss the conditions under the Ptolemaic rule.

I come now to the second part of Claudius' argument where he says that the Alexandrians knew well that they had no senate under the emperors who came before him. The first of these emperors, Augustus, is the one that concerns us since, if the senate had not been abolished under the Ptolemies, it would be he who abolished it. If Augustus actually did that, would not Claudius have mentioned the matter? This would certainly give added weight to his reply to the request of the Alexandrians in two ways. First, he would give, as a precedent, the reasons which must have seemed good enough to Augustus to abolish the senate[3] and, secondly, because referring to what Augustus did in this particudar case would be in accord with his policy which he declared, both explicitly and implicitly, throughout the letter — namely that he follows the main lines set by Augustus.

1. App. Mith., 114; Dio Cassius, XXXIX, 58; Cicero, Pro Rabir., 8—11; Plutarch, Anton. III ; Polyb., V, 34 ff

2. See above.

3. Bell,addenda to his "Jews and Christans in Egypt", and Aegyptus, loc. cit.

In reply to this argument Milne says, "But surley the precedentis implied in the words : you are aware that you had no senate under the emperors who preceded me. However, this is only a general reference in which the policy of Augustus himself is not specified, but rather the general policy of the Roman emperors and since we know that Claudius did not grant the Alexandrians their request (and probably never intended to) it is only reasonable to assume that he would have clung to Augustus' precedent in a more pointed way than just to mention it as part of the general policy of the Roman emperors, and that he would have dwelt on the reasons which drove Augustus to abolish the senate. And he would not have been at a loss looking for such reasons since the Alexandrians did not accept the Roman rule without first giving vent to their revolutionary sentiments. It would be strange indeed for Claudius to leave these ready answers which would put the Alexandrians in a weak position and to resort to the excuse of saying that he simply followed the general policy of his predecessors or to the method of half-hearted promises of looking into the matter and entrusting his prefect Aemilius Rectus with giving him a report on it[1] — which report, if it was ever made, never came, in any case, to anything concrete.

The third part of Claudius' argument is where he describes the idea of a senate as a new thing which was proposed for the first time. This seems to stand against the probability expressed earlier, which accrues from Dios' text, that the Alexandrians submitted such an appeal to Octavian and it was refused. This apparent contradiction, however, need not worry us. In the first place, if such an appeal took place, it had definitely remained on paper and it is not unnatural to forget or even to ignore an appeal of which nothing came out, especially if Claudius did not intend to do anything about it himself. Secondly he migh have simply meant that it is the first time anyone came under *his reign* with a proposal of that kind and not necessarily the first time during *the whole period of* the Roman rule.

But even apart from these supposttions I am inclined not to take this phrase literally, but rather to take it as a general utterance simply calculated to make the request of the Alexandrians appear as a serious-thing which should not be granted as a matter of course and could not easily be put into effect — without necessarily worrying about official accuracy. I have two reasons for this. First, he includes it among

1. ll. 69—71 of the letter.

the general precautions which he advanced, no doubt intentionally, sine, in the end, he did not give the Alexandrians what they wanted. The whole proposal was completely new, he must see it in the light of what was good for the city and for his own interests, and he was going to ask his prefect to study the matter and submit the results to him for consideration. All these belong to one category—pretexts and non-commitant promises calculated in the first place to be a substitute for a blunt refusal which might not have a desirable effect, and never intended to aim first and foremost at presenting or establishing truthful facts. The second reason is that Claudius himself was not accurate in another of these general utterancs which belong to the same category. He says, "it is my will to have all things confirmed which were granted you by the rulers who preceded me and the kings and the prefects as Augustus confirmed them". Augustus could not have confirmed what was granted by the emperors who succeeded him and he did not confirm nor could he have confirmed all that was granted by the Ptolemaic kings. Thus we cannot and should not take literally all what Claudius said in the the section of his letter where it is question of general pretexts, precautions or promises never intended to be carried out.

The third text which bears on our question belongs to Spartianus. Talking about Septimius Severus he says : [1]

Deinde Alexandrinis ius buleutarum debit, qui sine concilio publico ita ut sub regibus ante vivebant uno judice contenti quem caesar dedisset.

Spartianus words are straight and plain. Before Severus the Alexandrians did not have a senate. That was the same under the emperors who preceded him as under the kings. However, the phrase "ita ut sub regibus" has been taken on two occasions in a sense aifferent from its direct meaning. Engers made it refer to the Parthian kings who were comtemporaries of Spartianus and Severus.[2] But this is plausibly refuted by Jouguet who contends that althongh Spartianus begins the chapter by describing the emperor's Parthian campaign, he ends this description early in the narrative and talks about the emperor's journey

1. Vita Severi, 17.

2. op. cit., pp. 169—170.

through Syria and Palestine before he finally comes to Egypt and finds himself in Alexandria. It is obvious what kings the reader is expected to think of when the writer talks about Egypt and Alexandria, especially if there is nothing to designate these kings as being Parthian.[1] I would add that it seems to have been a normal thing for the Romans to refer to the Ptolemies simply as "the Kings" when they wrote about Alexandria or the Alexandrians. In the letter of Claudius, which Bell takes to be a translation from the Latin,[2] the Ptolemies were described as the Kings, not as the Ptolemies. The other sense given to the phrase is "as in the case with the cities under the kings". But just here, as Jouguet remarks, Alexandria would be an exception among such cities — Antioch and Pergamon had senates.[3]

The words of Spartianus must therefore be taken in the direct sense which they convey. However, his denial of the existence of an Alexandrian senate under the Ptolemies stands in direct contradiction with the evidence of Claudius' letter. Jouguet tried to solve the difficulty by supposing that the writer might not have known that the Alexandrians had a senate under the first kings, while he certainly knew that they had none under the late Ptolemies.[4] To this I would add that it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Romans did not know or care to know much about Egypt before the visit of Scipio Aemilianus to it — which was the prelude to the the appearance of the Egyptian question on the programmes of the contending political parties at Rome. Scipio came sometime between 145 and 118 B.C., at the time of Euergetes II, to settle a dispute over the throne among the members of the Ptolemaic house, but his visit was really part of a tour which the Roman senate asked him to undertake in order to inspect the kingdoms of the eastern mediterranean.[5] Before that the Romans did not have a great interest in Egypt. In 190, for instance, when Ptolmy Epiphanes, finding himself hard pressed by the intrigues and schemes of Philip V of Macedonia

1. Jouguet, op. cit. p. 78.

2. The discussion of P. London in his "Jews and Christians in Egypt"; see also U. Wilcken, Arch. für Papyrusforschung, VIII, pp. 308 ff.

3. op. cit. p. 78.

4. Id., Ibid.

5. Bouché-Leclerq op. cit., p. 68; Bevan, a History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty, p. 310.

and Antiochos III of Syria. asked the Romans for help and accompanied his request with a present of corn and an offer to put the resources of Egypt at their disposal, Rome declined both the present and the offer.[1] Even when, in 168, the Roman senate sent their envoy C. Popilius Laenas to relieve Alexandria from its siege by Antiochos IV,[2] we find him leaving the country as soon as his mission was over, without any indication that Rome started to have any direct political interest in, or designs over, Egypt.

It is probable, with this outlook in view, that the Romans did not know a great deal about internal Egyptian affairs during the first half of the Ptolemaic rule and that when their politicians or writers talked about Egypt they only had in mind the period when the relation with Egypt became a burning question in the political arena in Rome after Scipio's visit, particularly during the last century B. C. Spartianus, in this case, would only be referring to that period and his evidence would therefore, not contradict that contained in Dio's narrative or Claudins' letter.

* * *

The above discussion of the literary and documentary evidence points, in a reasonable way, to one strong probability — Alexandria had a senate at the beginning of the Ptolemaic period, but it lost it sometime during the reign of the later Ptolemies. I shall now try to show that the development of the social aed economic conditions in Egypt took such a turn towards the middle of the Ptolemaic period as to cause a clash between the interests of the kings and those of the Greek settlers and, consequently, render, the abolition of the senate a desirable step for the Ptolemies to take, if not, indeed an actual necessity.

In the course of founding their new kingdom on a firm basis, the first Ptolemies depended increasinagly on Greek immigrants both for their military qualities which, by that time, had reached a professional standard and for their capacity in the fields of administration and economic organisation. For this end the Ptolemies tempted those immigrants with privileges in one sphere or the other of their social and

1. Polyb. III, 2; XIII, 1—3; XV, 20, 24a.

2. Bevan, op. cit., p. 286.

economic life.[1] However. rather that becoming a loose class of royal protegés who depended solely on the generosity of a king who nedeed their services, they started to develop rapidly into an independent middle and semi-middle class who were not content with working as civil servants who could keep their posts only as long as it pleased the government, but tried hard, as soon as they found their feet in their new home, to derive their strength from their solidarity as a class with an independent standing based on a secure economic foundation.

This is reflected in the big numbers of letters which appear in the Zenon papyri. In these letters many of of these immigrants ask Zenon for help. Yet they do not expect charity and they very rarely ask for money, but rather ask in a busines-like masnner for ways and means to help them settle for good. They want work or a piece of land to cultivate or a loan, an *ἔρανος*, of which the repayment in full is guaranteed by a group of friends.[2]

It was the same attitude which made a good number of the semi-middle class of limited means look for their chance of a settled and stable livelihood in trade, despite the odds which were apt to confront them in a country run on the system of state monopoly and severely scrutinised economic regulations. It was the increasing numbers of borrowers among these merchants which made interests on bank loans jump to such figures at 3% and 4% per month despite a law which limited snch interest at a cieling level of 2% per month, and made interests on loans from private userers leap to the almost incredible rate of 6% per month or 72% annually. Yet despite these fantastic figures an amusing letter among the Zenon papyri shows us a banker who was *besieged* by people asking for loans.[3]

Such businesslike perseverence was bound to help the Greek immigrants to develop into an independent middle and semi-middle class which would in time, in the course of its shruggle for a sound, solid and independent economic basis for livelihood, encroach upon the monopolic

1. See for e. g. Claire Préaux, Les Grecs en Egypte d'après les Archives de Zenon, Bruxelles 1947, p. 68 ff.

2. P. Cairo Zenon 59284; P. Col. Zenon 41, 48; P. Mich. Zenon 33, 46; P.S.I, 375, 415, 570. Comp. C. Préaux, op. cit., p. 84.

3. P. Col. Zenon, 83; P. Cairs Zen., 59062, 59173, 59341 comp. C. Préaux, op. cit. pp. 65—66.

privileges of the king. Signs of this encroachment appeared early in the Ptolemaic rule. In the χωρα, for instance, in the case of the κληροι or plots of land allotted to the settlers, the practice under rhe first Ptolemies was for the κληρος to return to the king at the cleruch's death. The king would then allot it again to anyone else althongh, under ordinary circumstances it was usutally allotted to the cleruch's ablebodied son if he had one. However, towards the end of third century B. C. this practice underwent a change. At the death of a cleruch, if he left a son, the son was allowed to take possession of the land immediately and, apart from minor details, the changeover became a mere formality. This is attested by a passage in the Lille papyrus, belonging to the year 218-17 B.C. in which a certain Lamiscos, the ὁ ἐπὶ συντάξεως at the time, talks of a Macedonian settler who was given a κληρος of thirty arouras in the Arsinoïte nome and "to whom and whose decendants this land belongs" (ὧι ὑπηρχειν ἡ γῆ αὐτῶι και ἐγγόνοις).[1] Again we have a demotic act belonging to the year 282 where a κληρος is described as " given forever" to a certain settler.[2]

This development, whatever the circumstances which might have led to it[3], was a sure sign of the growing solidarity of the Greek settlers as a class with an independent standing in face of which the king had to give up part of his monopolic privileges. The same signs were to be seen among the merchant class which carried out its mosı important transactions in Alexandria. There also, although the system of royal monopoly stretched all over the country, the Greek settlers managed to break through it in more than one place. The wine merchants, for instance, althongh their transactions were subject to certain regulations, such as not receiving the price of what they sold, which was deposited in a bank, till the tax of *apomoira* (which was imposed upon vineyards) was paid and apart from a few minor formalities, were left free to fix their own prices. Apollonios appears in a Zenon payrus as sending to Zenon wine from the Heliopolite in order to resell it at a higher price which he could not get there.[4] The same chances were to be found in the textile trade. There, also, the merchants seem to have been left free, apart from

1. Wilcken, Chrestomatic, no. 336, Préaux, Econamic Royale des Lagides (1939) pp. 468—9.

2. Préaux, op. cit. p. 469.

3. See the reason given by Préaux, op. cit. p. 470.

4. P. Cairo Zen., 59170.

a state regulation that a certain part of the material manufactured in the Egyptian workshops should be delivered to him. In one of the documents we find a big order of ten thounsand linen articles addressed to Zenon to be delivered after viewing a sealed sample with a commercial agent.[1] The trade in wheat presented a similar case. Prices, apart from those imposed when buying for royal consumption, were completely free, as appears from a comparison between the prices in Alexandria and those in the chora recorded in the Zenon papyri.[2]

All these commercial transactions were facilitated to a great extent by the spreading in Egypt under the Ptolemies of a vast banking system. We see the bankers advancing to the commercial agents of Apollonios the money which they needed.[3] It also frequently occured that these bankers, being on the actual spot of business, placed their services at the disposal of the agents in order to help them in their transactions and to supervise the putting into effect of the deals which they concluded.[4]

Such commercial enterprise reached considerable dimensions in Alexandria which rapidly developed under the Ptolemies to be the greatest trading port in the Hellenistic world. Against the Egyptian exports, which were in the third century B.C. on the advantageous side of the export-import balance of trade, there were imports of dates, figs, honey, special varieties of corn and wine, perfumes, aromatics, wool, leather, carpets, wood and even panthers and horses. They came from as widely different parts of the world as Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Rhodes, Miletus, Caria, Sicily and Greece.[5] Commercial relations were carried out with all these places with tremendous zeal and activity. A vivid picture of this is presented on one occasion shorthy after Palestine was conquered, where we find merchants following in the train of the Ptolemaic

1. P. Cairo Zen., 59470.

2. P. Cairo Zen., 59269, 59363, 59404, 59446; P. Col. Zen., 31, 75; P.S.I., 571. Comp. Préaux, Les Grecs, p, 61.

3. P. Cairo Zen., 59062, 95790.

4. P. Cairo Zen., 59470.

5. Préaux, op. cit. pp.57—9; Rostowtzeff, Alexandrien and Rhodes, Klio (N.F.) 1937, pp. 70—6; ibid., Ptolemaic Egypt, C. A. H., VII, p 134; H. I. Bell Alexandria, J. E. A., XIII. p. 170; W. W, Tarn, o.p. cit., pp. 215 ff. ; P. Jouguet, Trois Études sur e. Hellénisme, Cairo, pp. 98 ff; M. K. Abdel Aliem. Alexandrian Trade in Aromata in the Graeco-Roman Times, 1954 (unedited thesis in the library of the Faculty of Arts, Alexandria University), pp. 24 ff.

armies In 259 Apollonios sent to Judaea a commercial mission which toured the country by carriage and on the backs of horses, donkeys, mules and even camels

This growing sense of solidarity which must have appeared in a more pointed way among the greek merchant class, first because they had more interests at stake and secondly because they were not as sparsely spread out as the settlers in the chora, but tightly concentrated in the commercial towns, and in the case of external trade practically solely in Alexandria — was accompanied by an ever growing discontent among the Egyptians who became, under the Ptolemies a vast dispossessed and exploited class. They did all the manual work in the royal domains and in the Greek cleruchies and they could at best only occupy minor administrative posts, while in the economical field they had practically to give up everything to the benefit of the Greeks who became the practical possessors and benefactors of the land apart from holding the commerce in their hands[2] This discontent showed itself in more than one way, extending from general strikes and taking asylum in the temples on the one hand to open revolt on the other[3].

Thus the Ptolemies were faced with a situation which gradually and increasingly made itself pointed. On the one hand there was the privileged minority of Greeks who had rapidly developed into a middle class in the wide sense and who were increasingly assimilating, to their benefit, economic rights and gains at the expense of the king's monopolistic rights. On the other hand there was the vast majority of Egyptians, an irritated and discontented class who were far below the Greeks in social and economical scale, who were battling for recognition as a class and who could no doubt be content with far less than what the Greeks demanded.

The climax of this two sided situation came with the battle of Raphia in 217 B.C in which the Egyptians were treated for the first time, as military equals to the Greeks and which marked at one and

1. Préaux. op. cit., p. 58.
2. Ibid., op. cit., p. 68
3. Tarn, op. cit. p. 199 Fr von Woess, Das Asylwesen Ägyptens, 1923.

the same time the success of the Egyptians in their struggle and the beginning of the road downhill for the Greeks who proved not to be the seasoned fighters on whose valour and professional experience alone the first Ptolemies built their kingdom. This new turn was soon to be accentuated by two new circumstances which oppeared on the scene for the best part of the second and first centuries B. C., and which were bound to affect the course of the government policy. First the members of the Ptolemaic dynasty started to quarrel among themselves over the throne and, secondly, Rome, the rising power who started to be a factor in Mediterranean politics, began to apply pressure on Egypt,[1] and even to take interest in supporting one claimant to the Egyptian throne against the other. These new circumstances must have given greater value to the Egyptians whose support as a class was to be solicited by one or the other of the members of the royal family.

A marked recognition of the constribution of the Egyptian warriors after the victory at Raphia was an order by Ptolemy IV to erect in celebration of the event, a number of statues for him and his sister Arsinoe in Egyptian (not Greek) style. It also appears in the strong Egyptian colouring of the priestly decrees issued after that battle in honour of Ptolemy IV and of Ptolemy V which gave the kings the titles of a native pharaoh.[2] Ptolemy V was further crowned in Egyptian style at Memphis which became henceforward a second royal residence. Euergetes II greatly extended the powers, privileges and possossions of the Egyptian priesthood. Under him also the struggle between the calendars ended in the Mecedonian having to conform with the Egyptian and the right of asylum was extended to more and more Egyptian temples. After Raphia the Egyptian warrior class was revived and its members (the *machimoi*) were made cleruchs with allotments which started by being smaller than those of the Greeks but were soon to become the same in many cases.[3]

Was this policy followed for the simple end of ronciliating the Egyptians to face the pressure of Rome with a firmly founded Graeco-Egyptian monarchy or for some Ptolemies to depend on the support of

1. Bell, Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest (Oxford, 1948), p. 58

2. H. Gauthier and H. Sottas; Un Decret Trilingue en l'Honneur de Ptolemée IV (1925), pp. 33—8 & 75; O.G.I.S., I, 90; Bell, op. eit., p. 57.

3. Tarn, op. cit., pp. 205—6.

the Egyptian class in their dynastic dissentions?[1] That can only be part of the picture and a conciliatory attitude towards the Egyptians could not fully explain the restrictive economic measures which were taken against the Greeks. Already under Ptolemy II, long before Raphia, we begin to see these measures which were calculated to hamper the growth of their economic privileges at the expense of his monopoly. The *apomoira*, a tax of one-sixth of the produce of vineyards, orchards and gardens, which had belonged before 266/5 to the temples, was diverted in that year to the cult of the deified Arsinoe Philadelphos which probably meant that part of it went to the treasury. In addition to the *apomoira*, Ptolemy II imposed a tax of 33 $^{1}/_{3}$ % on this produce in order to give the king, who owned a large part of the year's vintage, a marketing advantage over that of the Greek producers. At the same time he imposed a similar (33 $^{1}/_{3}$ %) import duty on wines coming from abroad which was so calculated as not to spoil the king's wine-business and to admit only the fine brands of wine for which the Alexandrians were ready to pay a higher price[2]. A further step in that direction was that, after Raphia, we find no more great estates, of the type of that of Apollonios, conferred on Greek officials. The produce of such estates was no doubt a great rival with that of the king's land and would only help to consolidate the growing sense of class independence among the Greeks.

Such class consciousness would no doubt be accentuated and accelerated by the existence of any organised bodies which would be looked upon by the Ptolemies as, and would in fact be, grouping centres for the interests of that class. A senate would even be more so than an assembly as it does not admit large numbers to its membership, but rather the selected few who would no doubt enjoy a higher social standing and would therefore be staunch supporters of the interests of their class. Under the circumstances which I have just described, the existence of such an organised body would certainly be a source of trouble for any monarch with a clear policy of keeping a firm grip over the fruit of the land. A minor sign of such tendency was probably what Euergetes II did when he temporarily broke up the Museum, no doubt considered a grouping centre of intellectual personalities, on the same occasion when he let loose his troops on the Alexandrians.

1. This seems to be the opinion of Bell, op. cit, p. 58 and Tarn, op. cit., p. 205

2. Tarn, op. cit., p. 193.

Again the fact that the Alexandrians took an active part, siding with this or that Ptolemy, during their dissentions over the throne, could not adequately be interpreted in the light of mere loyalty to one Ptolemy or the other, or in terms of differences over foreign policy. No such considerations are enough, in my opinion, to drive the Alexandrians to stand so staunchly on the side of Berenice IV against her father Ptolemy Auletes, an attitude which brought upon them particularly harsh treatment at the hands of Auletes culminating in the assassinations and massacres which befell all his daughter's supporters and in occupying the country with the support of the Roman general Gabinius[1]. These Alexandrians must have sided with Berenice for regaining some of their lost rights — one of them was no doubt the senate which was an arraying and crystalising centre of their class privilages and interests.

In conclusion I feel I should sum up the opinions which I have either reached or confirmed. Alexandria had a senate when it was first founded. This emerges from the letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians in which they are mentioned as asserting this fact. That Claudius tried to ignore their assertion was a means, on his part, of evading the issue. The existence, at that time, of an Alexandrian senate was warranted by the desire of the Ptolemies to provide the Greek atmosphere necessary to attract the Greek immigrants, on whose military and other qualities they depended for founding their kingdom. Further, such deliberative assemblies proved not to be incompatible with the centralised authority of the Hellenistic monarchs.

The senate disappeared sometime during the Ptolemaic rule. This is reasonably attested by the literary and documentary sources. Dio's passage, which refers to the Alexandrian (and not the Roman) senate, can reasonably mean that the Alexandrians asked Octavian to grant them a senate and he refused — which implies that they did not have one at the time of the Roman conquest. This confirms and is confirmed by the wording of Claudius' letter which refers to the claim of the Alexandrians of having had a senate under their old kings. Here, the description "old" should be taken to mean the first, as contrasted to the later, Ptolemies. We need not be deterred by Claudius' claim that the request

1. Cicero, Pro Caelio. 10; Dio Cass., XXXIX, 58; Cic. Pro Rabir., 8 & 11.

of the Alexandrians to have back their old senate was the first of its kind to be made — a claim which could stand in the way of our conclusion from Dio's passage. Claudius might have been referring only to his reign or he might have been trying to make the request of the Alexandrians look like an unusual and serious matter which could not easily be granted, without worrying about the accuracy of his words — a fact which is not without a parallel in his letter. Spartianus' assertion that the Alexandrians did not have a senate under the kings does not necessarily present an uncontested fact. While his words may represent the true situation under the later Ptolemies, the same does not have to apply to the earlier period. The Romans did not care to know a great deal about Egypt till sometime towards the middle of the Ptolemaic rule and Spartianus, or his authorities, might simply be extending what was known about part of this rule to cover the whole of it.

The social and economic circumstances fall in line with this conclusion. The privileges which were granted to the Greek immigrants at the beginning of the Ptolemaic rule, have given rise to a steadily growing class consciousness among them, which gradually asserted itself in terms of increasing economic demands at the expense of the kings' monopolistic rights. The kings realised they had to combat this tendency if they were not to lose everything. Yet they had to tolerate it so long as they had to depend on the military qualities of the Greeks. Raphia, however, proved that these qualities were not indispensable and that they could successfully be sought with the Egyptian fighting columns. This made it easy for the Ptolemies to strike at the class-consciousness of the Greek settlers which was threatening to undermine their authority. One of the ways to achieve this end was, no doubt, to suppress any organised bodies which served as rallying points for Greek interests and public opinion — and among the most important of these was surely the Senate of Alexandria.

Egyptian Sources of Information for the Ptolemaic Period*

By

Mustafa El Amir

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EGYPTIAN SOURCES OF INFORMATION FOR THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD

By

MUSTAFA EL AMIR

The history of Egypt presents two great phases; the one Active during which she created and developed her own culture; the other Passive, during which she was subjugated to foreign powers.

The first phase covers about three thousand years (3200[1]—332 B.C.) comprising thirty Dynasties and known to Historians as the Pharaonic period. During this phase, Egypt passed through three distinctive historical periods, interrupted by two intermediate ones. The Old Kingdom, was a period of growth and undistrubed development The Middle Kingdom, was a period of prosperity which came to be regarded, in the later periods, as the classical period. During the time of the New Kingdom, Egypt rose to greater prosperity and power and reached its zenith. Then follow periods of temporary foreign domination and a short period of Renaissance after which Egypt reached the end of its long Active phase.

The second phase begins with the conquest of Alexander the Great (332 B. C.) and ends with the declaration of the Republic in 1952 A. D.[3] In this phase Egypt ceased to be for the Egyptians andt he Empire of the Pharaohs lost its political independence. It became then a part Alexander's Empire that is to say a part of the Hellenestic World And when suddenly (in 323 B. C.) the young Emperor died of a fever in Babylon, the Government of Egypt passed to one of his Generals-Ptolemy son of Lagos-and remained in his family. for about three hundred years (323-31 B. C.). This time, known to Historians as the Ptolemaic

1. The beginning of the History of Egypt with the rise of Mena, the first Pharaoh in the first Dynasty.

2. When Alexander the Great conquered Egypt.

3. From this time Egyp; begins another Active phase.

period, can also be described as the political approach to the classical World for, it brought Egypt for the first time in its history under a European rule. It is one of the most important epochs in the evolution of Egyptian civilisation.

The history of these three centuries displays the great work of reform which the Ptolemies carried out in the field of Politics and Economics in order to build their Estate, This reform enabled them to create a strong and well organised State which was the last among the leading Hellenistic powers to succumb to the domination of Rome. The general system of Government which the Ptolemies adopted was to some extent linked with the Old System of the Pharaohs with one fumdamental change — that is — Ptolemy took the place of Pharaoh. Apart from creating the three Greek City States there is hardly any kind of Greek innovation in the administration of Egypt. This history could be traced with tolerable certainty and almost with accuracy.

But at the same time we are faced with a set of problems which have not yet been solved. For, during this period we have an interesting contrast: on one side, a minority of Greeks with their language and culture; on the other, the mass of the native population "with a language, culture and a highly organised religious system of their own, going back to an antiquity long before the name of Hellas had been heard". To what extent the plan of Alexander namely to spread the spirit of Greece did really affect the natives? Did they stick to their old traditions and live in that atmosphere of the Past or did they change their outlook and admit the modes of the Present? What was the influence of Greek on Egyptian Culture and customs? In a word what was the fate of Hellenism in Egypt? An answer to these questions may be sought in Egyptian sources written in the Egyptian language.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

In the last century, Historians used to depend on what the classical authors had said about Egypt; indeed they had no choice. But with the discovery of the Rosetta Stone, a clue was found to the decipherment of Hieroglyphic Writing. The Egyptian Monuments then were allowed to speak for them-selves. A large number of these monuments are inscribed or painted with Hieroglyphic writing or pictorial scenes. These revealed to us a new picture of the people who made them. Instead of a race considered little developed by Herodotus and others,

we began to see a highly civilised people who occupied an exalted position and who became, at least for a time, a great universal power. Since that time, scholars have been studying the immense amount of texts which turns up year after year as a result of Excavation. Modern scholars especially Egyptologists began then to question even the credibility of Herodotus' account of Egypt.

Although these monuments give us a most complete picture of the life of the Ancient Egyptians throughout the pharaonic period, yet they show the people as kings, high officials, and citizens performing religious rites or public duties, We look in vain to find in them a true picture of the private affairs and the humane nature of human life. No wonder then if we turn our faces to look for the different aspects of Social Life in Papyri; for, it is on these fragile rolls that the Egyptians wrote down their thoughts.

THE SCIENCE OF PAPYROLOGY

At the end of the 19th century, this fascinating science of Papyrology was developed. It is the science dealing with those ancient documents written in Hieroglyphic Hieratic, Demotic, Greek, Latin, Coptic and Arabic - on Papyri found in Egypt. Those in Greek and Latin cover a period of about one thousand years, from the establishment of the Ptolemaic Dynasty to the Arab conquest (332 B.C. - 640 A.D.). They have opened many fields for research in History - political and economic, in philology and in Sociology and Law. The collections recovered from Egypt, give a most complete picture of the whole range of Life that it is almost comparable to Modern History. In fact they have increased our knowledge of the life of the ordinary man in the ancient world.

Early in this century, scholars of classics have recognised the value of Greek papyri and published more than thirty thousand documents. The students of classics to day possess an established science equipped with a worterbuch, a Namenbuch, a Sammelbuch and even a Kontrarindex. Scholars of Demotic, however, are nearly half a century behind not only because they possess nothing of the kind but also because of the difficulty of their studies.

DIFFICULTIES IN DEMOTIC

For although, Demotic Documents are less numerous than Greek, yet there are very few scholars who can read them. It often happens, in the course of Excavation, that one discovers at one and the same time Greek and Demotic Papyri. But whilst the former are rapidly deciphered and published, the latter continue to swell the unpublished archives of the Museums. Thus, it is nearly a hundred years since the first Greek Papyri of the Serapeum of Memphis were Published but we had to wait until 1941 to see the "Testi Demotici I" by G. Botti Piublishng a few Demotic Documents of that find which gives us a glimpse of the non Hellenistic Society of the Serapeum. The British Museum has possessed Demotic Papyri since 1834 (Sidney Smith; preface to Glanville's Cat.). But apart from a few documents Puplished by Revillout, Reich, Griffith and Sir H.Thompson, we had to wait again until 1939 to see the publication of the first volume of a systematic Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the British Museum by the late Prof. Glanville. At Edfu, the Franco-Polish expedition discovered in 1937, Greek Papyri and Ostraca which were published almost the same year by Manteuffel whereas the Demotic documents found with them have not yet been published.

Thus, owing to the difficulty of the language, the small number of Demotists and the small number of Demotic Documents (about 2000 compared with 30,000 Greek), Native Egypt is less familiar to us than Hellenistic Egypt. For this reason also, when the Egyptologist-Historian reaches the Conquest of Alexander in his account, he usually leaves the subsequent period to the Hellenist-Historan. But this attitude is not above criticism. For, if we wish to obtain a true picture of Egyptian society in the Ptolemaic period we must consider also the Egyptain sources, written in Demotic.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF DEMOTIC

It was not before January 1948, when the late Professor Glanville delivered his Schweich lectures to the British Academy, that the contribution of Demotic to the Study of Ancient History, was illuminated. The study of Demotic has now reached a stage from which its further development promises to be full of interest. Many, indeed, are the discoveries which can be made by the Egyptologist who has

obtained the knowledge of Demotic. We may expect a brilliant future for the Demotic studies, important not only for philology but also, in combination with Greek papyri, for history in the widest sense of the word.

DEMOTIC PAPYRI

The existant Demotic Documents are about two thousands in number. They contain narrative, religious, magical, astrological and legal texts of various kinds which reflect the traditions and customs of those who wrote them.

It is hardly necessary to emphasise the value of Demetic legal texts for our knowledge of that much neglected branch of Ancient Egyptian civilisation i. e. Ancient Egyptian Law. This branch has not been fortunate enough to draw the attention of Egyptologists in spite of the fact that its value had been repeatedly stressed by the notable French Scholar, Eugene Revillout.

It is hardly necessary also to point out the importance of the study of aneient Egyptian Law. For, as it is the predecessor of Roman Law, a comparative study is highly important. It is also a part and parcel of the social and economic life of the Egyptians in the Ptolemaic period so that it illuminates the position of the natives who were living in semi-isolated communities and in a very bad state of poverty.

We possess already sufficient material of Demotic legal texts. A close study of the published documents shows that they are not exhausted but still give many interesting results which were sometimes overlooked by their editors. Unpublished documents too, will no doubt give valuable results. Needless to say that they explain and are explained in their turn by the published ones, besides the close connection which has been demonstrated between them.

DEMOTIC ARCHIVES

For the understanding of the documents as a whole, it is necessary first of all to know whether they come from official or private archives. Official archives, no doubt were known to the Egyptian administration from the most remote periods. There, the documents would not only

have been protected against robbery and forgery but also would have been guaranteed public credence. We have evidence that such an official archive was kept up most efficiently. For we know from the Inscription of Mes that his case was traced back for nearly three centuries. But unfortunately we have not yet come across such an archive.

Holscher, excavating at Medinet-Habu, did not come across any papyri He, explained this failure to be more than accidental. He assumed that "such papyri were not left as isolated rolls scattered here and there in private dwellings but rather that they had been deposited in official arehives possibly in the houses of the judges or of priests". He concluded that "since the well known jeme documents came on the market in groups of considerable size and not individually, it seems probable that, when the ruins of Medinet Habu suffered demolition, the fellahin discovered and plundered one or more such archives. "Hence" he continues "our chances of unearthing papyrus documents are very meagre".

But Holscher's assumption and conclusion, I think, require cnnsiderable modification.

First : It is true that most of these papyri were purchased but we know also of at least three cases in which they were found during scientifiic excavations.

a) The unpublished Demotic papyri in Turin, were found in 1906 by Schiparelli at Der el Medinch.

b) Two well preserved Demotic Documents were found in a jar under the floor of the chamber of one of the Ptolemaic vaulted graves excavated at Dra^c Abu-el Naga in 1912 by Carter-Carnarvon.

c) The Philadelphia Demotic archive was found in two jars in a corner of a later house built against the pylon of Tomb No. 156 at Dra^c Abu el-Naga excavated by Fisher in 1922.

The late Prof. Glanville has proved that five other collections (Strass, Bruss, Ryl., B.M. and Louvre) belong to a single archive and come from the same locality (Cat : XXV). Thus it is clear that these Theban Papyri were found at Dra^c Abu el Naga and Der el Medin h not at Medinet Habu.

Secondly : A close study of these archives shows always a central figure who is a party in a certain number of documents. Obviously it is to him and his family that they belonged. The contents of these papyri proved always that they did not belong to a Public Records Office but to a private archive (Glanville XXVI).

Thirdly : A Demotic document which proved to be a legal code was found in 1938 at Hermopolis by Dr. Sami Gabra. It was found in a broken jar in a ruined building which is believed to be one of the temple archives, It is evident also that such a temple archive did exist at Djeme in the Ptolemaic period. Thus we need not despair entirely of some happy circumstance one day bringing to light some Temple Archives. Our chances of discovering private Archives are not meager as it has been assumed.

THEBAN ARCHIVES

It would seem from the fact that these documents proved to have been the legal transactions of a single family and that they were always found in jars buried under a floor or hidden in a corner of some kind of dwelling-that these families were in the custom of preserving their deeds in that way. From generation to generation, they were in the custom of preserving the title deeds of their transactions as well as the documents relating to law suits which these transactions brought about. These family archives attest the continuity of a tradition which was not interrupted by the advent of the Greeks for, certain dossiers, built up in the course of succesive generations, enable us to reconstruct a chain of transactions whose beginnings antedate the Conquest of Alexander.

It is perhaps interesting to note here that some of the Upper-Egyptian Archives belonged to Egyptian families who were under the influence of Greek culture and so were bilingual (e. g. Elephantine and Adler).

Many collections of Documents — Papyri and Ostraca — which may be considered as major publications and which are used to a certain extent in our study are presented here in their chronological order with a few general remarks :

1. *The Louvre Collection :*

When, more than seventy years ago, Revillout published a group of Theban Documents in his "Chrestomathie Demotique — 1880", his publication was an outstanding achievement. He was the first to give an interpretation and commentary but his hand-copies of the text are much criticised. Now, It hink, a new study of these documents should be undertaken. For, in Revillout's time, knowledge of Demotic was in its infancy and so much and important experience has been acquired in this field since that time. It is certain that a new investigation would result in considerable improvement upon his pioneer work. Gradually also, more and more papyri, which are related to his group, turned up and some of them were published. No attempt of course has been made here to give a new study of the whole archive since this work will need more than it is possible here.

Among the Louvre collection there is a series of successive transactions concerning a property (House) in the Northern district of Thebes from the time of Alexander the Great down to the reign of Ptolemy III (i. e. 332—232 B. C.) Another interesting group in that archive is that of a complete series of contracts of the Choachytes and the Pastophoroi of Amenopi from the reign of Darius down to the 20th year of Ptolemy III. Apart from their legal and sociological interest, these documents are also valuable for the study of the Chronology of the Early Ptolemaic period. The relation between this Louvre archive and those of the British Museum and Philadelphia has been brought to light for the first time by the late Prof. Glanville (Catalogue : P. 51, 54). Another relation can also be demonstrated between the Louvre and the Berlin Archive. In fact Berl. 3112 is a copy of an agreement for sale which is to be found in Louv. 3440.

In a word, the Louvre Demotic Archive is greatly important. It gave Revillout, a tremendous material which enabled him to produce so many monumental works on Ancient Egyptian Law and Social Life in the Ptolemaic Period.

2. *The Berlin Collection.*

This group published by Spiegelberg in 1902. comprises documents dated as early as 492 B. C. and runs on, nearly without interruption, down to 10 A. D. These documents are very important for the study

of the Topography of Thebes on both sides of the river. They are also remarkable for the sales of tombs, mummies and liturgies. A bilingual sale of liturgies dated 136 B. C. (Doc. 5507) and studied by Griffith and Wilcken (A. Z. 45, 1908, P. 103) enabled them to give the interpretation of two terms, frequent in Demotic papyri.

It is interesting perhaps to note here that Doc. 3119, dealing with a sale of liturgies of priests and hsy.w, mentions the tomb of Nb. Wnn as their burial place. This name may be identified with Nb-Wnn-f, the high-priest of Ramses II, whose tomb is No. 157 at Dra^{c}-Abu el Naga. Others mentioned in Doc. 3118 are said to be buried in the tomb of 'Bw-nfr. The nearest name to this, among those in the Theban necropolis, is the 19th-20th Dyn. tomb which is to be found at Der el Medineh not very far from the temple. But after all there is no evidence to support both suggestions.

Some of these documents are related to those of philadelphia as well as to the Louvre and B. M. Collections. It is to be noticed for example that in Berlin 3086 dated 230 B.C. and philadelphia XXIII of nearly the same date, the Eponymous priests are the same, some of the witnesses signed both contracts but the scribe is not the same. The agent of the scribe of Berlin 3109 (225 B.C.) became the scribe of philadelphia XXVI (217 B.C.).

3. *The Manchester Collection.*

This group of Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library at Manchester was published by Griffith in 1909. The Theban documents in this collection are only five. They form a compact group with a range of 35 years (from 315 to 280 B.C.) and numbered X-XIV in that publication. No X is a marriage contract and it is difficult to find the connecting link which brought it with the other four. The last three are actually of one date, and contain an agreement for sale and two cessions of a house at Thebes.

Griffith, summing up his results, accused the scribe of Doc. XIV of being careless for "consequently where the names given by him differ from the corresponding ones in the previous documents it is not certain that the contracting parties intended them to do so". But Griffith also a few lines later admitted the possibility of "pa na" being a second name used distinctively for a namesake of Harsiesi's father

(i.e. Pa-te-'Mn-py) In fact the scribe was not careless at all. On the contrary thanks to him. for giviog us a clue to the identification of many persons whose names are written sometimes in full and sometimes in a shorter form. Thus, for example from Doc. XIV we know that.

Pa na is the abbreviated form for Pa te' Mn' py

'Mn htp is the abbreviated form for Pa te nfr htp

Moreover we can infer that:

Pa na is the father of Hr s'st and Wn Mn

Pa te nfr htp s yrt rd (i.e. 'Mn htp s yrt rd) is the father of Ta-hb.

The relation between the Ryl. documents and those of Philadelphia lies in the fact that the 2 nd party of Ryl. XII, XIII, XIV Ty-'nty is also mentioned in Phil. XII where she leased the house to her sister Tyba. The story of rhe property could thus be traced: In the 21 st year of Ptolemy Soter I, the woman Ty Hr acquired the house through her marriage with P mr 'h. In the 5th year of Philadelphus she sold the house to Ty'nty who, in the 8th year of Philadelphus, leased it to her sister. These Ryl. documents help in restoring the much mutilated document XII of the Philadelphia group.

4. The British Museum Collection

A. A group of Hieratic and demotic documents in the British Museum was published by Reich in 1914. This collection covers about four centuries beginning from Wahibre (568 B.C.) down to Ptolemy VI (176 B. C.). It comprises contracts dealing with embalment; choachytes; sales of land, tombs, houses and liturgies and oaths. Doc. No. 10073 of this collection dated 217 B. C. mentions the same persons who are mentoined in Doc. Berl. 3096 dated 222 B. C.

B. Another group of Demotic Papyri of the British Museum collection was published by the late Prof. Glanville in 1939. This group also presents a Theban scene with its unbroken history of a small property and of its neighbours during the first quarter of the third century. The importance of this group lies in the fact that it links up, in a direct succession three earlier documents (taking back the

history of the main property by another quarter of a century) with four later documents in the Rylands collection and another in Philadelphia. Philadelphia and the Louvre are also associated with them.

5. *The Carnarvon Collection*

These two Carnarvon Papyri were found at Dra^{c} Abu el Naga in 1912. They are dated the 4th year of the native king Harmachis and deal with a sale of land The first party of Doc. I is the cousin of the second party. In Doc. II, the first party is the uncle of the second.

Apart from their legal interest, these documents enabled Carter to date the vaulted tombs in which they were found, to the Ptolemaic period. It was there also that the famous historical tablet referring to the expulsion of the Hyksos by Kamose and the second broken tablet, were found. These Documents were published by Spiegelberg in Rec. Trav. 35.

In addition to these major collections there are also many other minor groups which have been published in different periodicals and scientific journals during the last fifty years.

LITERARY DOCUMENTS

Although the prime sources for legal and sociological study are the contracts, yet texts of a purrely literary character cannot be ignored. There too, reading between the lines, we can infer many a social custom and many a legal practice.

The story of Setna, for instance, is highly important as throwing light on marriage customs and ceremonies. It reveals also many traditions which are still preserved in Upper Egypt to the present day.

Half a century ago this story was the only oasis in the desert of Demotic literature but fresh discoveries have been made since then and many documents have been published by Griffith, Krall and Spiegelberg. The Danish Scholar Dr. A. Volten has been recently

working on many literary documents which have enabled him to publish many volumes on demotic texts relating to books of wisdom and philosophical poems. Here too, the documents reflect a picture of the traditions and social conditions of the Egyptian people.

OSTRACA

Of equal importance are the Demotic Ostraca which have helped us to understand the economic conditions. They also throw much light on legal terms and mention numerous geographical sites and personal names.

It was early in 1913 that the late Sir H. Thompson, when he pnblished some Theban Ostraca, pleaded for the publication of the largest possible number of these documents so that we might arrive at definite results as to their meaning. This task was partly carried out by the Egyptian scholar Dr. G. Mattha when he took Demotic Ostraca as a field for his research. But the position still remains as it has been described by Sir H. Thomposn "No large collection of Demotic Ostraca has ever been published and treated systematically in the way in which Wilcken has dealt with the Greek Ostraca."

After this somewhat discursive survey of demotic legal documents has been made, we may now ask the questions : Is it not unreasonable that the Egyptians of the Greco-roman period should be consigned to oblivion because we can read but a small number of the documents which would make them known to us ? Is it a fair defence to say that the story of the Egyptians no longer justifies interest once the Greeks were established in the country merely on the grounds that Greek sources are so greatly superior and more numerous than the Egyptian ?

Recently it has been shown that the native Egyptian in the Ptolemaic period differed in no way from his predecessor in the days of the Pharaohs.. He also differed in no way from his successor at the present day. For, especially in the isolated districts of Upper Egypt, he unwittingly adopted the same hereditary traditional way of living handed to him down through the ages and thus he remained always in statu quo ante.

Can we regard as satisfactory and complete, a history which merely records the doings of the statesmen and the lives of the dominant personalities whilst the great mass of the people moves unrecognised and

indistinct in the background ? How much can we learn about the ordinary obscure Egyptian citizens from such of their records as they wrote by their hands ?

Surely, it is the duty of the Egyptologist to carry on and further the researches of the great Demotists Revillout, Spiegelberg, Griffith, Reich, Thompson, and Glanville so that their labours may come to full fruition. It is true that he is badly handicapped at present, through the lack of a standard Demotic Lexicon, a systematised Demotic Palaeography and a comprehensive Demotic Bibliography. It is true also that too often the earnest student of Demotic has to grope in the dark like a traveller without map or compass. But with this apparatus criticus, Demotic will no longer remain a terra incognita.



Archaelogical Excavation at Kom-el-Dik

apreliminary report on the Medieval Pottery*

By

Arthur Lane

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I. — This preliminary report is based on my study of the material during my attachment to the University staff between February 1st and March 17th, 1949. In it I attempt to give a provisional classification of the medieval pottery found in excavations conducted by the University under the direction of Professor Alan Wace, in the two seasons 1947 & 1948. The report may be found useful for reference if further excavations are to be made at Kom-el-Dick. If no further excavations are undertaken, the report may be regarded as a first out-line for the more comprehensive study that will be prepared for publication by the University.

The final publication will probably be planned on the following lines:

1 — A resumé of what information can be found in the writings of Arab and European historians about Alexandria in the late medieval period — 12th to 16th century A.D. (Some work on the Arab Sources has already been done by Dr. Abdel-Aziz Barzouk).

2 — A topographical account of the Kom el-Dik site; a statement on the previous excavations undertaken by Hogart and a description of the methods followed in the excavations by Farouk Ist. University. (This section will naturally have to be written by the Director of the excavations or by someone who assisted him on the spot).

3 — A classified description of the finds, which mainly consist of pottery and glass. (This section will be on expansion of the present report, illustrated by photographs and by drawings which have still to be made. It will be necessary to make comparisons with material found elsewhere or preserved in Museums ,and as the books are not available in Alexandria, I hope to consult them in London after my return to England. I shall send the results of my researches to Dr. Abdel-Aziz Marzouk, who will be able to incorporate them in the final publication. I have prepared copious notes and sketches of the pottery which I am also leaving in his hands).

4 — A discussion of the new knowledge that has been gained as a result of the excavations, both about medieval Alexandrian history and trade, and about medieval Islamic art.

II. — The excavations were begun in the hope of finding important remains of the Hellenistic or Roman periods. Three separate cuts were made in the sides of the hill of Kom el-Dik — on the South East, on the North, and on the West. Fragments of pottery and other debris were found embedded in the earth to the lowest level excavated, and it was not possible to

(1) Mr. Lane is the Keeper of Ceramics in the Victoria & Albert Museum. He was delegated to examine the finds of Pottery in the University Excavations at Kom el-Dik. During his sejourn in Alexandria he gave some lectures on Pottery in this Faculty.

dig down to virgin soil. It is therefore probable that traces of earlier settlement still lie buried under the hill. This appears all the more likely because digging at a fourth point in the level ground away from the hill to the south (the so-called «Garden Site») led down to remains of the Roman period. What is certain, is that Kom el-Dik is not a natural hill but an artificial mound formed by man.

From comparison with material found elsewhere which can be approximately dated, it is clear that the oldest pottery found in the three cuts on the hill can hardly be much earlier than 1200 A.D. Apart from isolated fragments, too few to be significant, that latest pottery found appears to date from the second half of the 15th century A.D. The earlier imported pottery resembles that found on sites in Syria and Palestine occupied by the Crusaders in the 13th century and thereafter abondoned. The style o fthe lustre-painted pottery imported from Manises in Spain helps to fix the lower date in the 15th century (probably before 1475).

The excavations were scientifically conducted, care being taken to observe the stratification of the material in the ground and to keep the remains from each level separate. The character of the pottery changed from one level to another, types known to be early being found mainly at the lower levels, later types on or near the surface. The hill was therefore not piled up deliberately in a single operation in the second half of the 15th century or later; it grew by gradual stages between about 1200 and 1475 A.D.

There were two possible explanations why the mound grew to such a height above the surrounding ground-level. First, that it was for two centuries the site of human occupation which left succeeding layers of deposit as the years went on, while the ground surrounding the growing hill was comparatively uninhabited. Second, that Kom el-Dik was a vast rubbish heap where generations of the inhabitants of Alexandria deposited their broken pottery and other household or workshop refuse, much of which has decayed beyond recognition through contact with damp soil.

In favour of its being an occupied site is the fact that the strata of broken pottery etc. follow horizontal lines, and in this are markedly different from the strata at obvious dump-sites in Alexandria, such as those by the Government Hospital and by the Faculty of Science (Abbassia Secondary School). At the latter sites the strata run downwards in a slanting direction. The fort of Mohammed Ali on the top, the modern military buildings on the slopes, and the steady encroachment of the modern city have changed the shape of Kom el-Dik and reduced its area. Among the finds in the excavations were misshapen lamps of glass frit; great quantities of semi-vitreous slag, pottery crucibles containing melted glass, and deposits of seaweed and sand — the raw materials used by glass-makers. These make it certain that glass-makers used the work in the neighbourhood, perhaps on the hill itself.

There is no circumstantial evidence that potters too were at work; through some misshapen unglazed earthenware bowels were found, they were usable and could not be regarded as refuse from potters' kilns.

Against the theory of Kom el-Dik having been an occupied site there are two main arguments. First, no traces of buildings were found in the excavations; and though any buildings that might have existed would perhaps be constructed from impermanent materials, these should have included walls of unburnt brick, which leaves easily identified foundations. Second, there is the generally even and undisturbed stratification of the pottery. Sites of Medieval occupation in the Near East are normally honeycombed by vertical shafts sunk near the houses, either as walls or as rubbish -pits. Dense occumulations of pottery are found at the bottom of these shafts, well below the level of the dwellings to which they belonged. And the stratification is further disturbed by the digging of the shafts, which brings to the top fragments of pottery etc. from lower levels of occupation.

Whether Kom el-Dik was a densely populated area surrounded by more or less open ground, or a town rubbish-dump of a kind similar to those at Fostat, its abondonment for either purpose about the end of the 15th century can easily be explained. Alexandria had then declined in size and importance, and the shrunken city became concentrated some way off near the harbour, with other rubbish dumps nearer at hand.

The excavations at Kom el-Dik will offer valuable archaeological evidence of a kind not obtained in excavating the rubbish-heaps at Fostat. For the stratification, carefully observed, will facilitate the dating of many kinds of pottery whose chronology and development has hitherto been obscure.

The finds themselves cast a most interesting light on the commercial and calturul relations of Alexandria during the 12th-15th centuries. There is a great deal of celadon stoneware and white porcelain imported from China, probably via the Red Sea. There are much greater quantities of «Byzantine» incised pottery, of a kind widely diffused through the Aegean and perhaps made in the Anatolian Province of the Byzantine Empire. Incised and painted wares of a kind found on Crusader sites in Syria and Palestine are accompanied by painted wares from Rakka in North Syria, all of the 13th century. Painted pottery from the Maghrib and from Spain was imported from the 13th century onwards; it includes a few pieces of the lustre-painted ware from Malaga (14th century) and a great many of the lustre-ware made at Manises near Valencia (15th century). Alexandria was clearly a main gateway of Egyptian trade towards Syria in the north east and Spain and N. Africa to the West.

III. — Classification of pottery found at Kom el-Dik.

A. . Far Eastern imports

1. Chinese celadon stoneware, from Lung Chuan. 12th. century onwards.

2. Chinese celadon, from other unidentified factories.
3. Chinese white Ting ware, with relief decoration. 12th-13th centuries.
4. Chinese white porcelain with «ying-chinq» shadowy blue glaze. 13th-14th centuries.
5. Chinese white porcelain painted in blue. Late 14th-15th centuries.
6. Chinese coarse grey stoneware jars (martabani) with olive green or brown glaze.

B. East Mediterranean imports

7. «Byzantine» sgraffiato ware with scooped and incised designs; thin potting. 13th century onwards.
8. (?) Byzantine sgraffiato ware with incised borders of pseudo-Arabic writing; thicker pottery. 13th century.
9. «Crusader» coarse sgraffiato ware, as found at Al-Mina near Antioch in Syria. 13th century.
10. Crusader ware of type found at Athlit, painted in purple, blue, brown and red on white glaze. 13th century «Athlit A».
11. Crusader ware of type found at Athlit, painted in purple, green and brown on whitish glaze over red clay. 13th century «Athlit B».
12. Crusader ware of type found at Athlit, painted in purple and pale green on a white glaze, mainly with shields. 13th century «Athlit C».
13. Cypriote sgraffiato ware. 13th-15th centuries.

C. Asiatic imports

14. Persian (Kashan) lustre-painted ware; early 13th century.
15. Syrian (Rakka) lustre-painted ware; 13th century before 1259.
16. Syrian (Rakka) ware painted in black, blue and sometimes a little red. 12th-13th century, before 1259.
    (Hard to distinguish from Egyptian Ayyubid painted ware).
17. Syrian wares painted in black and blue. 14th-15th centuries.
    (Hard to distinguish from Egyptian wares).
18. Syrian (Damascus) lustre-painted ware; 14th century.

D. West Mediterranean imports

19. Unidentified lustre-painted ware, perhaps made in N. Africa at Bougie. 13th century.

20. Spanish (Malaga) lustre-painted ware. 14th century.

21. Spanish (Manises) lustre-painted ware. 15th century.

22. Spanish (Paterna) ware painted in green and purple. 14th-15th centuries.

23. North African or Spanish ware painted in blue and purple or purple alone on yellowish glaze. 13th-15th centuries.

24. (?) Catalan Ware (made at Manresa near Barcelona); 14th century.

25. Spanish ware decorated in relief under a green glaze.

E. Egyptian wares

26. Fatimid lustre-painted ware.

27. Colour-glazed ware, mainly green, imitating Chinese celadon.

28. Wares painted in blue, black and sometimes a little red. Ayyubid period; 13th century. (Hard to distinguish from Rakka ware).

29. Wares painted in black and blue, or one colour only.

30. Red ware painted in white slip under yellowish glaze. Ayyubid period.

31. Early Mamluk sgraffiato ware.

32. Later Mamluk sgraffiato ware with added painting in white and brown slip.

33. Coarse ware painted in purple under yellowish or greenish glaze. 13th-15th centuries.

34. Unglazed wares of various types. 13th-15th centuries.

Arthur Lane.



Excavation on Government Hospital Site, Alexandria : Preliminary Report*

Alan J. B. Wace

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In 1944 and 1945 the Faculty of Arts made extensive trial excavations in the southeast section of the area of the Government Hospital, since the University was about to construct new buildings on this site for the Medical Faculty. The site has always been considered an important one, because it lies well within the area of ancient Alexandria. The topographers place the ancient theatre somewhere in thisoarea which is raised considerably above the level of surrounding parts of the city. The only previous excavations (1) in this area were those of the German expedition in 1898 which worked in the southwest part of the Hospital site, and Botti records some finds made in this very region, the southeastern part, by Schiess Pasha when he was building the Government Hospital about the same time. The area in question lies outside the old walls of Alexandria which followed the line of the gardens on the north side of the Boulevard Sultan Hussein.

In the northern part of the area tested there rises a mound on which the Queen Victoria column stands. This mound on investigation proved to be one of the old forts of Alexandria, now completely dismantled and ruined. Here on this hill the French under Kleber built a fort, probably merely an earthwork, when they took up-position within Alexandria after the battle of 1801. On account of its position not very far from the obelisks known as «Cleopatra's Needles», which stood on the site of the modern Ramleh tram station, it was called Fort Cleopatra. Some writers wrongly call it Fort Crétin which is really the French name of the Fort Kom ed Dik. It is marked on Nugent's map of the forts of Alexandria in 1840 which shows the forts built or reconstructed by Mohammed Ali. About that time the top of the mound was revetted with a strong wall of masonry. The remains of this masonry found in the excavations strongly resemble that of the forts of Abukir which were also built by Mohammed Ali. The masonry of the fort and the adjoining parts of the ancient walls of Alexandria were destroyed by Schiess Pasha in order to obtain stone and other material for building the Government Hospital. The Arabic name of the fort was Fort Yaoud, or el Yahoudieh or Tabiat el Yahoudi and this name is sometimes given in lists of the forts of Alexandria as Tabyit Koubour el Yajoud el Kadima (2). This name is due to the fact that the fort adjoined the Old Jewish Cemetery. In fact during the excavations an abandoned part of this old Jewish cemetery was found to the south of the fort in the southeast corner of the Government Hospital area. This is directly to the west of Champollion Street on the other side of which still lies the main part of the old Jewish Cemetery. It is obvious that this cemetery lay outside the walls and that the existing part east of Champollion Street was once all one with the now abandoned

part west of the street in the southeast corner of the Government Hospital area.

Several Jewish graves were found in this area and to judge by two Turkish coins found in two graves all date from about the sixteenth century. One complete Hebrew grave inscription and a fragment from another were found. The complete inscription mentions the name Tashtiel a name which is said not now to occur in the Jewish community of Alexandria. At all events the existence of this cemetery justifies the Arabic name of the fort.

The mound of the fort which consists of débris of the late Roman period was found to cover the ruins of an extensive late Roman building of brick and stone and marble which may have been a baths. It was impossible to examine this building in detail because one of the houses of the hospital stands directly above it. The floor of the building is about twelve or thirteen metres below the surface of the mound. On the east were two small rooms which certainly appeared to have been bathrooms. In one the floor was of blue veined marble with a bench of the same material along the walls. In the other room the floor was formed of mosaic of coloured marbles and red porphyry set in mortar on limestone slabs. To the north of these two rooms were two brick built limekilns which indicate what had happened to the marble and stone from this building. Directly to the west of these two rooms are the ruins of lofty vaults of brick once faced with stone and marble. These are in a state of partial collapse but were probably some of the great halls of the baths or else vaulted substructures for some building above. The former is the more probable. Nothing was found in these ruins to indicate their date or purpose. They are clearly of the Roman period probably about the third century A.D. They were most likely wrecked in one of the frequent revolts which occurred in Alexandria during the Roman Empire. Nothing Islamic was discovered either in the ruined baths or in the débris piled above them. So presumably the building must have been long in ruins and filled with rubbish some considerable time before the Arab Conquest. The mound at the level of the floor of the baths has been tunnelled into in later times by persons seeking for cut stone and other suitable building material.

At the southern foot of the mound of the fort is the grave of Schiess Pasha (3) by the side of which stand two granite columns with Corinthian capitals said to have been taken from the Church of St. Theonas, the Mosque of the Thousand Columns. In testing the ground immediately to the south of the grave a curious system of tunnels lined with masonry was explored. The whole of the mound here is composed of débris and rubbish piled up in a great dump. The sloping strata show that the mound was built up in the same way as other dumps of rubbish on the outskirts of Alexandria and Cairo. Once a small mound of rubbish had accumulated the dump was added to by taking fresh débris to the top of the mound and then pouring it down the

sides. The same method can be seen in use to-day round Alexandria. This débris contained all manner of rubbish, broken brick and stone, broken pottery, bones, and all kinds of refuse thrown away as useless. In it, as will be seen below, several interesting small finds were made.

The principal tunnel begins on the eastern side of Champollion Street on the edge of the mound and runs directly westwards. At its west end there is on the south a deep shaft covered with a brick vault and lined with masonry. This goes right down to the water level to a depth of about seventeen and a half metres. The purpose of this shaft is not obvious. It can hardly have been intended as a well for there is no proper opening at the top to draw up water and it has no cement or other suitable lining. A short northern branch of this western tunnel ends in a cul de sac. About half way between the entrance to the tunnels from Champollion Street and the deep shaft another branch turns off at right angles southwards for some distance and then it turns again at right angles westwards for about thirteen metres till it is blocked by a fall. Here it turned southwards on a curve, but does not seem to have ever been completed because it would have passed close under a mass of heavy blocks of masonry which have partly collapsed into the unfinished tunnel. Owing to the depth it was impossible to explore this mass of large blocks of heavy masonry. The purpose of the tunnels is unknown . They can hardly have been intended to hold water for they have no lining of any kind and there are no signs even of any preparation in the floor for a water channel. In two places there are pivot holes for doors and there are niches in the walls to hold lamps for lighting. The method of construction however is clear. A plain tunnel of greater height than was needed was dug horizontally through the mound. Then the side walls were lined with stone work up to the height required. The masonry was built section by section. First at regular intervals thick solid piers of roughly squared limestone were built and then the space between each pair of piers was filled in with a walling of rough stone or rubble. Finally the whole was roofed with pairs of large slabs placed so as to form an inverted V. Above this inverted V an open space was of necessity left and this apparently gradually filled up with earth falling from above. The entrance to the tunnels at the side of Champollion Street consists of a circular structure of brick into which a small flight of stone steps seems to have led from the east. The tunnel commences on the west directly opposite the steps. The tunnels had been discovered by stone robbers who had burrowed into the mound in search of stone and building material, because the masonry from the sides and from the roof has been removed for a considerable distance. Also just above the entrance in Champollion Street other tunnels were found at a higher level dug into the side of the mound by stone robbers who had clearly tunnelled at random into the mound following up any groups or piles of cut stone they might find.

Nothing was found in the tunnels to indicate their date. They were presumably constructed before the Islamic period because nothing Islamic was found in them. On the other hand since they were dug in a mound composed of débris and refuse of the Roman period they must have been made during the Roman period, but certainly not early in that period because the mound of débris must have taken some time to accumulate. To judge by the pottery found in the excavations the débris itself probably accumulated by the fourth century A.D., certainly by the fifth century, for all the débris appears to be pre-Christian. Thus the tunnels may have been constructed during the fifth or sixth century A.D.

The mound of débris extends for some distance to the south of the tunnels into the corner of the area of the Government Hospital. Here the formation of the mound was the same and heretoo were found tunnels burrowed through the débris by stone robbers searching for building material. In this part of the site immediately below the level of the Jewish graves was a trodden white layer. In and just below this some lamps with Christian symbols came to light whereas in the lower layers nothing Christian appeared. We might therefore conclude that the accumulation of débris in this area came to an end about the beginning of the Christian period, or about the beginning of the fifth century A.D.

Owing to various difficulties it was not possible to reach virgin soil and the water level except in one place, and here late Ptolemaic pottery was found close to the soft sandy rock and well below the level of the mounds of refuse. It would seem then that there had been some occupation of this area in Ptolemaic times, but that apparently no important buildings stood on it. Under the Roman Empire the area must have been derelict early in that period and thus was naturally used for dumping refuse of all kinds, exactly as is done on vacant areas in Alexandria to-day. It is remarkable than an area so near the centre of the city should have become derelict so soon and that a site so near the centre of the city should not have been occupied by buildings in the Ptolemaic age. It is possible, however, that when Alexandria was laid out the area enclosed by its walls was too large for the population and thus there were parts of the city which were not occupied by buildings Often in the Hellenistic period it seems that the areas enclosed by the walls of a city were too large for the population and consequently that in many cities there were open, unoccupied spaces. In the Roman period from the time of Caracalla onwards Alexandria was often the scene of prolonged and destructive fighting and riots in which large parts of the city were laid waste. Even under Trajan during the great Jewish revolt a considerable part of the city was apparently laid in ruins. Under Aurelian towards the end of the third century the Brucheion quarter in which the Government Hospital area probably lay was, we are told, almost completely destroyed.

In any case these excavations have shown that the theatre did not exist in this part of the Government Hospital site. It stood according to Caesar

near the Palace. The Palace is generally supposed by the topographers of Alexandria to have lain in the northeastern part of the city. It would thus have stood somewhere between the Government Hospital hill and the sea probably in the Mazarita region where some fine Ionic capitals and some interesting sculptures, now in the Greco-Roman Museum, have been found (4). Perhaps the theatre stood on the northern slope of the Government Hospital hill where there is a tall apartment building now part of the Faculty of Medicine, on the south side of the road by the Ramleh tram line. On the east side of this building are some massive substructures of Ptolemaic masonry. Other constructions have lately been found on the west of the building. It is perhaps then in this region, the northwest part of the Government Hospital site and the adjoining British Consulate that we should now look for the theatre. In the erection of the Government Hospial radiological department in the northwest corner of the site many parts of columns and marbles are said to have been discovered.

As already stated above during the excavations many interesting small objects and other finds came to light. The site was most prolific in pottery which was mainly of the Roman period. Only below the accumulation of the mound of dèbris was late Ptolemaic ware discovered, though naturally stray pieces appeared here and there .The bulk of the Roman pottery is coarse ware of a domestic or commercial type. Large wine or water jars predominate and other large coarse vessels for kitchen use. Finer wares are rarer. In the lower layers a certain amount of *terra sigillata* was found. This belongs mostly to the eastern types, the so-called Samian or Pergamene, but there are a few pieces which may actually be Arretine. Interesting are a number of fragments of mortaria with potters' stamps. These seem to divide into two classes, one of coarse red ware with stamps in Greek which is probably local and the other of pinkish pebbly clay with stamps in Latin which would seem to be imported. In the upper levels was found a considerable quantity of Late A and B ware. This bears decoration in relief of fish ,animals and human figures ,or else the usual stamped, slashed, or rouletted ornament. There are some pieces of ware similar to Late B ware with painted ornament which may be a transitional class between the Late A Ware and the painted, so-called Coptic ware, several fragments of which were also found. Egypt seems to have been almost certainly one of the countries where Late A and its kindred wares were made, though it may have been made also in North Africa, Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco. It has been found on sites in Upper Egypt, Antinoe, Abydos, Asswan and the clay appears to be akin to Upper Egyptian clay. A number of amphora handles with stamped inscriptions in Greek were found and these come from wine jars imported in Ptolemaic times from Rhodes, Cnidus, and Thasos. Many lamps mostly fragmentary were found, and some of these are of local fabric, but many are obviously imports. Many fragments of cut and carved animal bones were found. Some of the carved pieces are unfinished. They belong to a

class of carved bones often found in Egypt which were made for the decoration of wooden caskets, jewel boxes, and the like. These are always called by archaeologists Alexandrian (5) but hitherto there has been no definite proof that such carved bones were made in Alexandria. Now the finding of partially cut bones, cores of bone from which slices have been cut, and other worked pieces of bone clearly the waste from workshops proves definitely that the cutting and carving of bones for decorative purposes was extensively practised in Alexandria. There are also many bone pins and in addition long unworked or partially worked strips of bone for making into pins which again prove that such pins were made in Alexandria. The finest carved bone is a knife handle with on each side a design of birds in a wavy scroll. One scene seems to depict the battle of the cranes and pigmies. This design resembles those which often occur on the tapestry woven textiles of Egypt of the third and fourth centuries A.D. There are many fragments of glass of good quality and many pieecs of **lapis Lacedaemonius**, a green porphyry which was imported from Greece where it is found only at a site near Sparta. The quarries were worked in the Mycenaean Age, but not in the classical period. This porphyry ,however, became popular in the Roman period and was then exported freely to Italy and to the countries of the Near East. It was used for decorative work in floors and on walls. A fragment of wall painting found at this same site imitates **lapis Lacedaemonius**. It was apparently never imported into Egypt in Pharaonic times, but in the Roman period was freely used. An exceptional find is a bronze brooch or fibula with engraved ornament which was covered with gold leaf. Lastly must be mentioned the discovery of a number of ostraca or fragments of pottery bearing inscriptions incised in fine Greek characters. These have not yet been read, but appear to be of a religious character, perhaps dedications at a shrine.

From a study of the remains of the walls of Alexandria, now unfortunately almost completely destroyed and from the illustrations of them in the *Description de l'Egypte*, it would appear that they were in all probability the Late Roman or Early Byzantine walls of the city. So far as can be told there is a distinct resemblance between them and the surviving part of the Roman fortress of Babylon now incorporated in the Coptic Museum in Cairo. The walls of Alexandria, however, must have been often repaired and strengthened in the Islamic period and the latest changes would have been those of Mohammed Ali to whom perhaps the outworks were due.

1. See Noack, *Ath. Mitt.* 1900, p. 215 ff. and Botti, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* No. 1, p. 56 ff.

2. For information about the forts of Alexandria I have to thank Colonel Abdel Rahman Zaki, Director of the Military Museum, Cairo, and M. Etienne Combe. See also Prince Omar Toussoun, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* No. 34, p. 23 ff., no. 11.

3. Dutilh, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* No. 7, fig. 10, p. 55 ff.

4. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegytum*, p. 90, fig. 35; Adriani ;*Sculture Monumentali del Museo Greco-Romano di Alessandria.*

5. Strzygowski, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* No. 5, p. 3 ff.

Egyptian Sgraffito Ware Excavated At Kom - ed - Dikka in Alexandria*

By

M. A. Marzouk

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In April 1947 Prof. A. J. B. Wace,[1] then, in the University of Alex. (Faculty of Arts), conducted an experimental excavation on the hill of Kom-ed-Dikka in Alexandria to find out the composition of the hill and see whether there is a cone of rock beneath it or whether it is a rubbish dump. The various tests have shown conclusively that the hill consists of dèbris containing abundant remains of Islamic pottery and lumps of vitreous slag, pockets of sand, seaweeds and ashes[2].

I have been invited by Prof. Wace to study the excavated Egyptian Glazed Pottery[3].

Nearly all the finds of that pottery belong to what is known among archäeologists as Egyptian sgraffito ware — a ware that is characterised by its red clay which is covered with white slip under yellowish lead glaze with designs engraved through the slip.

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1. It is a pity that this paper appears after the death of Prof. Wace who had seen its draft. His death was, in fact, a great loss to his many friends and students. This is not the place to estimate what this loss means, nor can I be concerned here to take account of all his activities especially in classical archaeology but only to commemorate his work for this unique Islamic excavation in Alexandria and to recall his driving force behind many projects in the archaeological Department of the Faculty of Arts in the University of Alexandria. There must be a great many students and friends, among whom the writer is to be counted, who owe a debt to his wide knowledge and his encouragement. His name is not likely to be forgotten because he was a powerful defender of a scholarship and research and was generous in his aid to scholars especially to the young.

2. The report of prof. Wace on this excavation, together with a study of the imported pottery excavated here and written by Mr. A. Lane of the Victoria and Albert Museum, will be published by the University of Alexandria.

3. The excavation of Kom-ed-Dikka yielded also various kinds of imported ware (Celadon stone ware and white porcelain from China ; Byzantine incised pottery ; painted ware from Maghrib, Spanish ware etc.) of which Mr. Lane has written preliminary report appeared in the Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts (Alexandria University) Vol. V, 1949. pp 143-147.

As very few scholars have paid attention to this kind of ware, it is advisable before beginning my study, to summarize their researches so as to reveal the real value of the Kom-ed-Dikka excavation and to make clear its contribution to our knowledge in this domain.

Dr. D. Fouquet[1] was the first to pay attention to this glazed earthenware. He collected a large quantity, "près de huit cents beaux fragments et quelques rares pièces, en bon état de conservation, composant actullement la série que je possède... j'ai au contraire distrait, du reste de la série, quelques fragments, ornés de dessins et d'inscription, qui faisaient double emploi pour les offrir aux mussées" [2].

In that valuable research from which the above quotation is taken, he gives a detailed description of the clay, the form, the glazing, the pattern[3], the use and the date of this ware.

Dr. Fouquet referred to a vessel of this kind with an Arabic inscrption which reads : "made for the kitchen of... "مما عمل برسم مطبخ ال . . .". From this inscription he gathered that this kind of pottery was made to order and was, very probably, reserved for princes and their followers[4].

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1. More than fifty years ago he lived near the ruins of Fostat — the first Islamic capital in Egypt — and used to roam about the relics of that deserted city, going up and down the mounds formed by the accumulated deposits of the inhabitants of Cairo. The tremendous quantity of Egyptian and imported pottery that existed in this debris attracted his attention and raised his curiosity. Gradually he began to collect the potsherds, and to buy them from the "Sabbakhins" (mannure diggers). His enthusiasm increased to such an extent that he even dug pits in search of more fragments.

2. Fouquet (D.), *Contribution à l'Etude de la Ceramique Orientale*, Le Caire, 1900, p; 120. The museums to which he refers are Rouen, Sevres, Le Louvre, Lyon and the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo.

3. Fouquet says that the body is generally red in colour (p. 123) and heavy in weight (p. 128). The forms much used were opened bowls with flat rims and low foot or big bowls of different sizes with an overturned conical foot, or dishes and vases without a foot like the contemporary brass bowls of Mosul (pp. 131, 132). After covering the vessel with white slip (p. 120), the glazing was then put on in yellow, brown or green. Sometimes it covered the vessel from both the inside and the outside, and sometimes only the inside was glazed (p. 123). The inner was not always the same colour as the outer glazing (p. 131). The designs in vogue were tresses, leaf-scrolls, cable pattern, entrelacs (p. 130) heraldic armory, naskhi script (p. 119) great carnivorrus animals, fish, birds of prey, the horse, the gazelle and rarely the human figure (p. 131).

4. Fouquet (D.), *op. cit.*, p. 132.

In 1930, Aly Bahgat Bey and M. Félix Massoul published their work "*La céramique Musulmane de l'Egypte*", in which they devoted à chapter to this ware discussed under the title "*Céramiques vernisées au plomb et décor incisé sur engobe*". This study was based on the excavation of Aly Bahgat in Fostat. Unfortunately this excavation was not carried out under any scientific control. No record was made of the position and level of the huge quantities of the sherds contained in the Fostat mounds. Nothing is said about the relation between these sherds and other objects found beside them which may be dated or datable. Moreover the authors do not specify which fragments came from lower and which from higher levels. In fact, a unique opportunity to determine the history and sequence of the Egyptian and imported pottery found in the mounds of Fostat has been lost. However the information given by Bahgat and Massoul has thrown some light on this subject.

Concerning the clay, the slip, the form, the patterns, the use and the date of this ware, they repeat what Dr. Fouquet had stated before.[1] But they stated that although this ware seemed very poor when compared to the marvellous lustre pottery or the pottery with underglazed decroration of the previous periods,[2] yet the ceramists succeeded in producing very elegant and beautiful pieces of this poor ware.[3]

Aly Bahgat and Massoul gave the names of seven artisans whom they attributed to the 14th century and who produced big quantities of this ware as proved by the appearance of their signature on many potsherds found at Fostat. Two of these artisans: Sharaf Al-Abwani (شرف الأبوانى) and Al-Ustadh Al-Misri (الاستاذ المصرى) have been studied is some detail[4].

1. See n. 3 p. 4. Sometimes they give more details as when they say that some designs were made by means of a white thick slip on a brown background without the use of incising. (See p. 86, Cér. Mus. de l'Egypte).

2. Bahgat and Massoul, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

3. The designs they used are of the same style as those used in decorating the pottery with underglazed decoration that was in vogue in the 13th century. (See Bahgat & Massoul, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 86).

4. Bahgat & Massoul, *op. cit.*, pp. 84, 85. It should be noted that three fragments with the name of the first artisan have been found in the present excavation; See, M. A. Marzouk. *Three signed Specimens of Mamluk pottery from Alexandria*, ARS Orientalis II (1957), p. 497-501. One of them is reproduced here (pl. I, fig. 1, 2).

Two years later, R. L. Hobson, in his Guide to the Islamic pottery of the Near East in the British Museum discussed this "Egyptian graffiato ware" which reached the height of its development in the 13th century under the rule of the Mamluks. He summarizes the previous mentioned data and again points out, as Dr. Fouquet had already done, the striking analogy between this ware and the inlaid Mosoul metalwork.[1]

* * *

In 1947 Dr. M. S. Dimand in his "Handbook of Muhammedan Decorative Art", gave a short account of this "Common type of Mamluk pottery of the 14th and 15th centuries.[2] In this account he referred to a basin of this ware in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo, attributed to Nasir ad-Din Muhammad, one of the Mamluk Sultans (1293-1342 A. D.). This glazed earthemware basin[3] is, in fact, a good example of the ware under discussion. It has both in the inside and in the outside a band of Naskhi inscription devided into compartments by armorial cartouches. The armorial shield which contains the emblem known as target is also presented on the inner base of the basin. The two bands of inscriptions are almost the same, but the inner one helps in dating the objects; it runs:
مما عمل برسم الأمير الأجل المحترمى الأعز O الأخص شهاب الدين ابن الجناب العالى المولوى السيفى فرجى الملكى الناصرى O.

"This is made for the most magnificent prince, the honoured the most glorious O the favourite Shihab ad-Din son of His High Excellency, our Lord Saif ad-Din Farji (officer) of Al-Malik an-Nasir O ".[4]

As stated by Mayer, no historian has referred to this Shihab ad-Din, but according to this inscription he is the son of one of the officers of the Mamluk Sultan An-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qalaoun who ruled Egypt between 1293-1340 A.D. (693-741 A.H.)

In his *Early Islamic Pottery published in* 1947, Mr. A. Lane wrote few lines on this sgraffito ware of Egypt summarizing most of the points stated above.[5]

1. Hobson, p. 26.
2. Dimand, p. 218.
3. This basin was first published by Wiet (*Album du Musée Arabe du Caire*, 1930, pl. 68), and then by Mayer (*Saracenic Herladry*, Oxford, 1933, pp. 206, 207 pl. XII).
4. Op. cit., p. 207.
5. Lane, p. 27.

THE CLAY

As Stated before, nearly all the finds of the excavated Egyptian glazed pottery belong to the sgraffito ware.

Previous writers who dealt with this pottery based their study of the clay on an examination either with the naked eye or with a knife.

I had the advantage of having two specimens of the ware under discussion analysed by Dr. Muhammad Yousef Bakr, Lecturer at the Faculty of Engineering, Alexandria University, who has an expert knowledge of the technology of ceramics[1]. It would be of some value to give in full his report which is the first and most recent chemical analysis known to me of this Egyptian sgraffito ware. The two specimens given to Dr. Bakr were chosen from the finds of an undisturbed test,[2] a fragment from the lower level (Level IV) referred to as No. I; and a fragment from the upper level (level I) referred to as No. 2. The report runs thus: "The following specimens were given to me by Dr. Muhammad Abdel-Aziz Marzouk. They were subjected to the following analysis. The methods used were that of I. W. Mellor, 1938[3]. The analysis were carried out on a moisture free sample and passed through A. S. T. M. sieves No. 100. In the determination of Iron both volumetic and gravimetric methods were adopted. Calcium is precipitated as calcium oxalate which is converted by calcination into calcium-oxide. Smith's process was adopted for the separation of Alkalies as mixed chlorides of sodium and potassium. The results were tabulated as follows :

1. He is working on "The Suitability of Egyptian Raw Materials for Cearmic Manufacture". M. Sc.Thesis and Ph.D. Thesis 1952-1954.

2. From the five tests made by prof. Wace, two were undisturbed. The two specimens were taken from the undisturbed test made in the south east corner of the upper part of the hill of Kom-ed-Dikka in the sloping side.

3. J. W. Mellor, A Treatise on Quantitative Inorganic Analysis, London (1938) pp. 100-224.

Constituents	Specimen No. I	Specimen No. II
Silica Si O_2	48,42 %	60,18 %
Alumina Al_2O_3 . .	15,52	14,81
Ferric Oxide Fe_2O_3 . .	9,98	9,01
Calcium Oxide CaO . .	18,60	9,68
Magnesium Oxide MgO . .	2,35	2,11
Soda Na_2O	3,16	3,33
Potash K_2O	1,66	1,46

Aly Bahgat and Massoul in "La ceramique Musulmane de l'Egypte gave us the two following formulae of the clay used by a native ceramist of old Cairo in their day (1919) :

Paste for gargulette

Clay from Tabbin 80
Nile Mud 30
Clacarious clay from Moqattam 10

Paste of Cooking utensils which are covered by lead glaze

Clay from Aswan 40
Clay from Tabbin 40
Sand 30
Nile mud 30

Dr. Bakr said that the first formula was probably the basis of the composition generally used by the potters of Fostat who modified it accoding to their requirements. The second formula is now used for lead glaze coating and is pinkish and sometimes yellowish, while the old paste of the 14th century covered by silimar glaze is, on the contrary, dark red and sometimes even black.

So we brought a representative specimen of each orë of the following:[1] (1) Aswan clay, (2) Tabbin clay, (3) Nile mud and (4) Moqattam clay which are used now in Egypt for making pottery and white ware. These were subjected to the previous method of analysis and the results were as follows :

1. Bakr, M. Y. "Beitrag zur kenntnis agyptischer Tone und kaoline : Ber. DKG 34 (1957), Heft 6.

Constituents	Ordinary Aswan Clay %	Tabbin Clay %	Moqattam Clay %	Nile Mud %
SiO_2	66,00	36,80	57,78	43,98
Al_2O_3	21,00	13,00	15,10	14,88
Fe_2O_3	3,50	9,00	10,10	15,70
CaO	2,00	26,48	2,70	3,30
MgO	0,20	0,80	0,10	3,20
Na_2O	1,60	2,12	1,00	2,31
K_2O	0,40	1,01	1,01	1,11

If we calculate from the two formulae stated by Aly Bahgat the percentage of the different ingredients from the Egyptian ores we will find the following :

Constituents	% from the 1st formula	% from the 2nd formula
SiO_2	40,00	60,00
Al_2O_3	13,60	12,80
Fe_2O_3	11,60	7,50
CaO	19,00	9,00

By comparing the different ingredients of these two formulae with the results obtained from the two specimens given to me by Dr. Marzouk, I find that the Ist formula ingredients comes very near to specimen No. 1, and the 2nd formula comes very near to specimen No. 2.

It is worth mentioning here that in Egypt in the ancient times before Islam two kinds of clay were employed in making pottery : the Nile mud and the Qena and Ballas clay[1]. In Islamic times it seems that the Egyptian potters made use of both clays mixed together. This is proved by the above mentioned chemical analysis. We have to bear in mind that, from the chemical point of view, the Tabbin clay is nearly the same as the Qena and Ballas clay, i. e. calcareous clay. In modern times, the new raw

1. Lucas (A.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, London, 1934, p. 317.

materials for making pottery are those of **Aswan**; and recently the Sinai Kaolin has proved to be the most satisfactory clay for fabricating pottery. It is, now, used in making white ware.

* * *

In this connection it is rather interesting to refer to a manuscript in the Library Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo. This manuscript, written by Ibn Al-Ikhwa Al-Kurashi (ابن الأخوة القرشى) who died in (729H.), 1392 A.D., contains some information on the fabricating of pottery in Egypt in this period[1]. The data contained in this MS. does not all apply to the kind with which we are concerned here, but it, undoubtedly, reveals some of the secrets of this trade. Dr. Bakr was so kind to comment and throw some light on this information after having carefully read it. His remarks are stated on pp. 12 ff.

The essential rules to be followed in this craft may be summarized thus :

1. "Vessels named Zubadi[2] should be made only of ground pebbles and not of sand[3].

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1. This manussript was edited by Reuben Levy who gave an abstract of its contents in English (both the abstract and the Arabic manuscript were printed for the trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial in 1938 (new series XII)). It deals with the function of *Al-Muhtasib*, an official in the Moslim governments of bygone days who was in charge of overseeing the various trades through trustworthy men who knew the craft and its corrupt practices. The *Hisba* i. e. the post of *Al-Muhtasib* is an office based on the positive and negative injunctions contained in the *Qur'an* and the Prophet's *Traditions*. Thanks are due to Aly Bahgat who was the first to draw attention to the importance of the texts on *Hisba* in dealing with the Islamic industries in the middle ages. He gave in "*La Céramique Musulmane de l'Egypte*", previously referred to, the translation of some quotations concerning the fabrication of pottery (pp. ١٠

2. This word was translated by Bahgat as "petits plats", and by Levy as
It is, quite likely, neither a "petit plat" nor a "vase"; to me it is a small bowl. This suggestion is not without reason; up till now the Arabic word for the small bowls in which Yaghurt is usually served are called *Zubadi*.

3. The Arabic text is :
ويشترط عليهم ألا يعملوا الزبادى الا من الحصى المطحون وليس من الرمل

2. "Sand may be used for making another kind of vessels namely the "Kharji" [1] which was used in feasts held on occasion of marriage" [2].

3. "The vessels must be of even texture, of the accustomed mould" [3].

4. "The Vessels should be perfectly glazed" [4].

5. "The materials used to colour the vessels should be blue kali, copper powder, and manganese. Indigo and natron should not be used"[5].

6. "The baking[6] must be complete so that food may be placed in the vessels without their splitting when handled" [7].

7. "Potters should not heat the oven used for baking these vessels with human dung or refuse because they are unclean. They should use esparto grass, rice husks or similar things" [8].

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1. This word has not been translated by Aly Bahgat, while Levy translates it as "imported" which does not make sense here. It means, very probably, what is used outside the house. Marriage feasts in those bygone days were usually held outside the actual house. The word may be a derivative of *Al-Khurj* i. e. the saddle bag which was then the usual means of carrying such things from one place to another. There was not much harm in using the Karji ware outside the house because it was cheaper than the Zubadi ware, the first had sand in its clay while the second was made of ground pebbles. It is very probable that the ware with which we are concerned here is Kharji ware.

2. The Arabic text is : ولا يعملون من الرمل الا ما كان خرجيا المتخذ لولائم الافراح

3. The Arabic text is : وأن تكون الزبدية معتدلة وأن تكون قالب العادة

4. The Arabic text is : وأن تكون كاملة الدهان

5. The Arabic text is :
وأن يعمل فى صباغ الزبادى القل الأزرق والشوبان والمنغنيز ولا يعوضوه بالنيله والشوكس

6. The word " شيئا " as edited by Levy in the Arabic text he published is vague. This vagueness caused the inaccurate summary given by him when he tried to overcome the difficulty by using the pronoun "they" referring to the colours. Aly Bahgat suggested the word الشى i.e. cuisson which means baking and which is written شياً as in the text. This suggestion is reasonable.

7. The Arabic text is :
وأن يكون شياً تاما لئلا يوضع فيها الطعام وتشال فتتفتت فى يد الآخذ أو المعطى

8. The Arabic text is :
ويشترط عليهم أيضا الأ يقدوا عليه بقوسان وهوروث الآدمى ولا بشىء من الازبال فانه نجس بل بالحلفا والفيشه وهى قشر الأرز وما أشبهه

Dr. Bakr maintains that the Zubadi vessels must have been of high quality, ceramics because the pebbles referred to in the first rule are, very probably, the pebbles-flint. This is frequently used, nowadays, for producing pure silica which is practically free from iron compounds.

Sand, on the other hand, being available in Egypt, and being a mixture of quartz calcium carbonate and containing a relatively higher percentage of iron — was used for cheap vessels.

Concerning the colours mentioned in the fifth rule of this text, Dr. Bakr says that the present potters still use the blue kali (which is known technically as the Berlin blue or the Prussian blue), the copper powder and the manganese.

He concludes his remarks by saying that the method employed in making pottery in Egypt has undergone very little change, and that the only difference lies in firing and in the designs of the klins.

THE FORM

No complete vessel was found, but when some of the fragments were put together big parts of various vessels were formed.

From these almost complete vessels and from other significant sherds it was possible to trace some of the shapes. But this study is not, in any way, an attempt at a detailed survey of the forms of the vessels that were in vogue at the time of these sherds.

It is through the help of Mr. Ibrahim El-Shadhli, then the draftsman of the Faculty museum and the kindness of Mr. Yousof Shukry the present draftsman whose drawings are here repoduced, that the degree of the curvature of the sides, the depth of the vessels, the form of the bases and the shape of the rims can be easily identified.

A study of the various forms of these excavated vessels indicates that the Egyptian potters who produced them had mastered their trade. The graceful curving lines, the perfect proportions. the elaborate contour of the vessels, the variation in the degree of curvature of the sides, the different forms of the rims and bases — all speak eloquently of the talent of these potters.

From this wide range of shapes, three forms seem to be uncommon in early Egyptian Islamic pottery; they are the carinated form with an externally concave rim (fig. 5), the double curve bowls where the sides first bend outwards and then inwards (fig. 6) and the shallow bowls curving out into a wide flat rim (figs. 7, 8, 9). These forms were common in the Mediterranean basin outside Egypt.

Before leaving this point, it should be noted that the actual form of the vessels in this period cannot be considered as a sound criterion in distinguishing various kinds or assigning dates because the differences in shapes may be only casual differences.

THE GLAZING AND THE PATTERNS

It is evident that most of the finds were glazed from the inside as well as the outside, but a few were glazed only from inside. It should be remembered that these came from a lower level, and are therefore, of a comparatively earlier date.

Most of the potters used monochrome glaze : yellow, brown, green, or manganese but sometimes polychrome glazes were used as well.

Some vessels were glazed in two different colours, the inside being different from the outside; other vessels have the two different colours on the outside only while the inside is monochrome. Very few fragments show that some vessels had even three different colours : mostly green, yellow and brown.

As for the patterns, it should be observed that the majority of the finds were fragments of plates of various shapes and these usually had the designs on the inside while the outside was entirely plain. Some examples were decorated from both the inside and the outside and very few pieces had their patterns only on the outside — these were, probably, parts of vases (fig. 10).

With regards to the motifs depicted on the outside, we notice that they run directly below the rim in narrow or wide bands. The patterns of these bands are made up either of parallel oblique streaks or an undulating floral stem with leaves on either sides. It seems that the potters of that period preferred a kind of fret pattern which appears on many sherds. Sometimes a procession of fish or an inscription in the Mamluk Naskhi style on plain or floriated background with a sort of fret pattern drawn above and below it, were used. (fig. 10 pl. V).

The motifs that decorate the inside include nearly all the repertoire of Islamic ornament.

The rims, when simple, are marked by a plain narrow band that runs around the vessel and sometimes they are not even indicated. (figs. 15,18,19.)

The flat pronounced rims are decorated in various ways. Streaks of various colours (brown, yellow and green) drawn obliquely, chevrons, outlined relief floral patterns, incised elaborate arabesques, thin parallel lines with a drip that runs directly below them, a kind of fret pattern or a floral stem with leaves on both sides — all these patterns are seen separately on the rims (fig. 13). One flat rim deserves a little attention. It has a curious decoration which may be the first of its kind. It represents a wide band with the procession of quadruped animals. In fact, I have not come across any other vessel with a rim similarly treated. (fig. 4, pl. II).

The sides are either plain (fig. 19) or patterned. The beautiful designs that decorate them vary greatly. Sometimes they are mere thin differentth coloured lines of no particular shape, their main interest is lying in the variety of colour.

Fret pattern, dots, wavy lines in curves, circles, triangles, drips or crescents are among the motifs on these sides. Bands of Naskhi or mock inscription, tressed patterns and floral stems are also used.

Some fragments show simple or elabrate arabesques; others have triangles with their heads either at the rim or at the base. These triangles are filled with the scale pattern or with floral motifs.

Other fragments have six-pettaled rosettes separated by illegible Arabic words, circles containing the cup design, fleur-de-lys, a horse-shoe or a kite-shaped shield with Arabic inscriptions in the middle. These motifs are presumably armorial badges which we are going to discuss later.[1] (figs. 15, 13, 3).

From the inside the bases are either decorated with some of the armorial badges previously mentioned (fig. 11) or with other heraldic emblems such as the scimitar the napkin, the lion or the fesse[2] (figs. 18,19,14,16).

1. See pp. 17, 18, 19.

2. This is a three fielded-shield without any emblem. We are going to discuss it later on, p. 19.

Other patterns are also used on the bases for decorative purposes : simple and elaborate arabesques, interlaced patterns, quadruped animals, circles filled with triangles and lozenges arranged with great beauty and regularity, or a radiating pattern that covers the whole base. (fig 14, pl. VIII)

The word بركة (blessing) artistically treated was sometimes used to fill the whole base of the vessel.

To sum up the predominent shapes and motifs of these vessels, or rather of these sherds, one can say that they are very similar to the contemporary metal work. Undoubtedly, many of the motifs and some of the shapes of these broken vessels were done under the inspiration, more or less direct, of the Mamluk metal-work. Even the technique of inlaying which is considered as one of the real glories of Islamic art, is perfectly imitated in these earthenware vessels.

.THE DATE

If literary sources are silent on the subject of manufacturing pottery in Alexandria in the middle ages, the present excavation throws sufficient light on this matter.

The presence of vitreous slag, seaweeds, pockets of sand together with ash and misshapen or misfired potsherds suggest that near Kom-ed-Dikka there were pottery and glass factories.

To which period can these factories and those excavated Egyptian sherds be attributed ? This is the question, I will now try to answer.

All the pits made by Prof. Wace on the different sides of the site, yielded nearly the same stuff. No dated fragments were brought to light and no coins or dated objects were found beside these potsherds. The only clue that may help in giving an approximate date to these Egyptian sgraffito fragments here excavated is the armorial blazons displayed on some of them.

Half a century ago, Herz Bey said that had it been possible to classify the armorial bearings in chronological order, a great step would have been taken in the history of Arab pottery [1]. Now Herz's wish has been,

1. See p. 5.

to a great extent, realised through the perfect study of Saracenic Heraldry by Dr. Mayer published in 1933. It became possible, through his study, to arrange many of these armorial emblems chronologically.

From the five tests here made by Prof. Wace, two were undisturbed.[1] The Strata show that the deposit accumulated regularly year by year and the character of the pottery changed gradualy as the excavation descended. Taking into account only the stratified fragments bearing armorial emblems, which are found in the various levels of these two tests, it was observed that one of them yielded more of these pieces than the other, and that all the blazons on the finds of the first test with the exception of "the Lion", came to light also in the second test.

The arrangement of the sherds with blazons in chronological order, i. e. from lower to upper levels showed that their sequence was as follows : fleur-de-lys, sixpetalled rosette, fesse,[2] cup, scimitar and napkin.

In turning to Mayer's Saracenic Heraldry and chronologically arranging the earliest dated examples which bear the same blazons[3] we get the following results : the fleur-de-lys, 1154-1173 A. D. (549-569 A. H.)[4];

1. The first undisturbed test lies in the south east corner of the upper part of the hill in the sloping side; the second lies in the west side of the hill towards the bottom of the sloping side. The horizontal character of the strata especially in the lower parts, suggests that the deposit accumulated regularly year by year.

2. See pp. 16, 19.

3. Needless to say that there are many objects which bear these blazons and are of later dates but I have chosen the earliest dated example of each to be on more solid ground. It was amazing to find that the chronological order of these dated examples corresponds with the actual position of the Kom-ed-Dikka finds in the undisturbed levels. It should be remembered that these dated examples may be either made in Egypt or Syria; but this makes no difference as both countries were considered as one country under the rule of the Ayyubid and Mamluks.

4. The fleur-de-Lys appears for the first time in Muslim heraldry as the blazon of Nur ad-Din Mahmoud ibn Zanki, the Atabek. It is found over the mihrab of Nur ad-Din's madrasah in Damascus, built between 549 and 569 H.. See Mayer, *Saracenic Herladry*, p. 22; Creswell, *The Origin of the Cruciform Plan of Cairine Madrasa*, (B. I. F. A. O. , T. XXI, 1923, p. 27).

the lion, 1277 A. D. (676 A. H.)[1] rosette, 1285 A. D. (684 A. H.)[2]; the fesse, 1324 A.D. (724 A. H.)[3]; the cup, 1331 A. D. (731 H.)[4]; scimitar, 1330 A. D. (731 H.)[5]; and napkin 1343-1344 A.D. (744 H.).[6]

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1. The lion appeared on a piece from the 2nd undisturbed test. The Saracenic heraldry lion is invariably represented in the act of walking, usually with his right fore-paw raised and with his tail curled back. The earliest dated example belonges to Bybars as-Salihi who passed into the service of Al-Malik as-Salih Ayyub, who freed him and made him chief of the Corps of jamdars. He was selected Sultan on 658 H. and died 676 H. See Mayar, op. cit. pp. 9, 106, 107.

2. The rosette is one of the oldest devices used under the Ayyubids, and to judge from its frequent occurence on pottery, must have been very popular with the early Mamluks. The oldest example belongs to Shihab ad-Dawla Kafur as-Safawi, originally an eunuch of al-Malik al'Adil (most likely Abu-Bakr II). He served as Khazindar in the fortress of Damascus under Baybars, Barka Khan and Qalaun; for some time he was governor of the fortress of Damascus. He died in 684 H. (1285 A. D.), See Mayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 135.

3. Because of an inscription that appeared on this blazon giving the name of Ala' ad-Din who was styled "Baridi" i. e. despatch-rider, it is considered as the blazon of Baridi. Bakhtamur al-Husami who was appointed governor of Alexandria in 723 H. and died here in 724 H. had a blazon of this kind. See Mayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 52, 99.

4. The cup was one of the most common blazons. The earliest example with a dated inscription which refers to the office of a cup-bear is that of Turji (طرجي) one of the Mamluks of Muhammad ibn Qalaun. He was originally Muhammad ibn Qalaun's cup-bearer, then silahdar, and was finally promoted to the rank of an amir majlis. In 719 and 725 he became leader of the pilgrimage and died in 731 H. (Mayer, *op. cit.* pp. 11, 141),

5. The earliest example of a scimitar with bands on the middle fields of a three-fielded shield belongs to Qiglis as-Nasiri, originally a mamluk and armour bearer of Muh. Ibn Qalaun. He was charged with various missions. In 717 he became leader of the pilgrimage and in 721 was appointed amir silah. He died in 731 H. (Mayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 190.

6. The napkin was a piece of cloth in which clothes and chancery deeds were wrapped up. The earliest dated example with known biographical date belongs to Aqbugha min Abd-el-Wahid Al-Nasiri, originally a mamluk of Muhammad ibn Qalaun, then his jamdar. He was later appointed inspector of buildings شاد العمائر , then he became amir of a humdred and commander of a thousand. He was appointed in various posts, imprisoned and then proceeded as a commander of a thousand to Damascus,

It has been proved that Kom-ed-Dikka hill is an artificial mound formed by man who left succeeding layers of deposit as years went on. In the light of the previous discussion it is quite likely that its formation began during later days of the Ayyubid period and continued during the Bahari Mamluks.

This suggestion can still be explained by further evidence which may give it additional strength. A big quantity of sherds that was found in the upper levels and on the surface is decorated with almost the same patterns as those seen on the bowl now in the Cairo Museum of Islamic Art, attributed to the period of Al-Nasir.[1]

The composite blazon[2] does not appear on any sherd brought to light in this excavation. It generally belongs to the 15th century A. D. and its absence here may also support my view.

Furthermore, the style of these Egyptian finds is so uniform that it suggests that they do not cover any length of time.

Though it is by no means impossible that the Kom-ed-Dikka hill ceased to grow at the beginning of the 16th century A. D. as Prof. Wace suggested, or in 1475 A. D. as Mr. Lane suggests,[3] yet I am of the opinion that this took place a little earlier. Both give, undoubtedly, reasons for their belief, but I am inclined to belive that the 14th century is the most probable lower date. This is supported by the archaeological evidence stated above and also by a historical event which throws sufficient light on the subject.

In 1365 A. D. (676 H.) a fleet made up of Rhodian, French, Venecian, Italian and Cyprian ships under the leadership of Pierre de Lusignan, king of Cyprus — anchored in the waters of Alexandria and sacked the city.[4]

1. See p. 7.

2. The composite blazon is that which has two or more devices. If Saracenic blazons of the 15th century A. D. are considered in chronological order it will appear that they start with two devices and end with nine. (See Mayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 32).

3. Lane (A.), *Archealogical Excavation at Kom-ed-Dikka*, a prelimnary report on the Medieval Pottery, Bul. of the Faculty of Arts, Alexandria University, p. 144, Vol. V, 1949.

4. This invasion was witnessed by Al-Nuwayri to whom we referred before and whose discription appeared in the MS. which was quoted there (See n. 2 p. 8).

The occupation of the city lasted only seven days, but in this short time, Alexandria was almost ruined. According to Al-Nuwayri, bands of Christians fixed to the points of their arrows, rags dipped in oil, tar, pitch and naphtha, shooting them up to the wooden ceilings of buildings to ensure the complete ruin of the place.[1] This great catastroph caused the city to shrink to a small area some way off near the harbour.

It is much to be deplored that no historical evidence exists to show exactly where Kom-ed-Dikka was situated, but most probably it was, as Prof. Wace suggested on the top of the ridge immediately to the west of the Water Company reservoir where there still exists a compact of houses.

The present Kom-ed-Dikka hill where the excavation under discussion took place, was not in existence at the time of the Arab conquest of Alexandria; the place was then an open area which the Lakhmid tribe,[2] most likely, used as a cemetry. The remains of this cemetry is still standing to the east of the mosque of Nabi Daniel where the tomb of Zewar Pasha stands to day.

It is not exctly known when this Lakhmid cemetry fell into disuse, but according to the archaeological evidence stated above, it is safe to consider the last days of the Ayyubid dynasty as the approximate time for this disuse.

Since that time the deserted cemetery was used as a refuge dump by the nearby homes and with time the hill grew. Very near to this place, there was a pottery and glass factory or factories the refuse of which was thrown on the growing hill.

The invasion of Alexandria by the Crusaders in 1365 A. D. put an end to this factory and the whole place was abondoned till the 18th century when Napoleon invaded the city and began to fortify it against the English. He found in the artificial mound of Kom-ed-Dikka a suitable place for erecting a fort to defend the city. The present Kom-ed-Dikka fort is the old Napoleon fort rebuilt by Mahammad Aly.

1. Al-Nuwayri foils 108-110 as quoted by Atiya, *op. cit.*, p. 366.

2. See n. 2 p. 18.

DESCRIPTION OF FIGURES

Pl. I. Fig. 1. The out side of a part of the side of a vessel with a small part of the base. A line of inscription engraved in simple lettering reads : "The work of Sharaf in Abwan عمل شرف بأبوان" p. 6.

Fig. 2. The inside of the previous piece.

Pl. II, Fig. 3. A sherd with an armorial escutcheon representing a horse-shoe, the emblem of the master of the stable. p. 5, 16.

Fig. 4. A part of a flat pronounced rim decorated with a quadroped animal. p. 16.

Pl. III, Fig. 5. The carinated form of a bowl with an externally concave rim (drawn from the sherd no. 90). p. 15.

Fig. 6. A double curve bowl (drawn from the sherd no. 88). p. 15.

Fig. 7. A shallow bowl with a wide flat rim (drawn from the sherd no. 365). p. 15.

Pl. IV. Fig. 8. A bowl curving out into a flat rim (drawn from the sherd no. 60). p. 15.

Fig. 9. A bowl curving out into a flat rim (drawn from the sherd no. 12). p. 15.

Pl. V. Fig. 10. Three pieces of a jar, from the narrow neck with two bands of inscription on a rough ground containing the word البركة (i.e. blessing) repeated. p. 15.

Pl. VI. Fig. 11. Base of a bowl with a fleur-de-lys in centre and round it a floral. scroll (drawn from the sherd no. 226). p. 16.

Pl. VII. Fig. 12. Base of a bowl with a gazelle, drawn from the sherd no. 880, p. 15.

Pl. VIII. Fig. 13. Part of side of an open bowl with chevron pattern on the rim and a fleur-de-lys in a circle on the side. p. 16,18.

Fig. 14. A base of bowl with a lion blazon in the centre. p. 17.

Pl. IX. Fig. 15. An incomplete bowl with mock inscription alternating with the badge of rosette. p. 16, 19.

Pl. X. Fig. 16. Base of a bowl with a fesse in the middle and oblique streaks round it. pp. 14, 17.

Pl. XI. Fig. 17. Base of a bowl with the blazon cup and spaced inscription on the sides. p. 17.

Pl. XII. Fig. 18. Incomplete bowl with mock inscription spaced with badges ; in the base the blazon scimitar. p. 16, 19.

Pl. XIII. Fig. 19. Incomplete bowl, plain on the sides and in centre the blazon of napkin. p. 16, 19.

Pl. XIV. Fig. 20. Some unglazed pots of various sizes found in the excavation.

Fig. 21. Unglazled, complete and incomplete, heavy pear-shaped bottles with small mouth found in the excavation. They are usually known as bombs to be hurled, full of naphta or petroleum, against the enemy.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

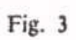




Fig.

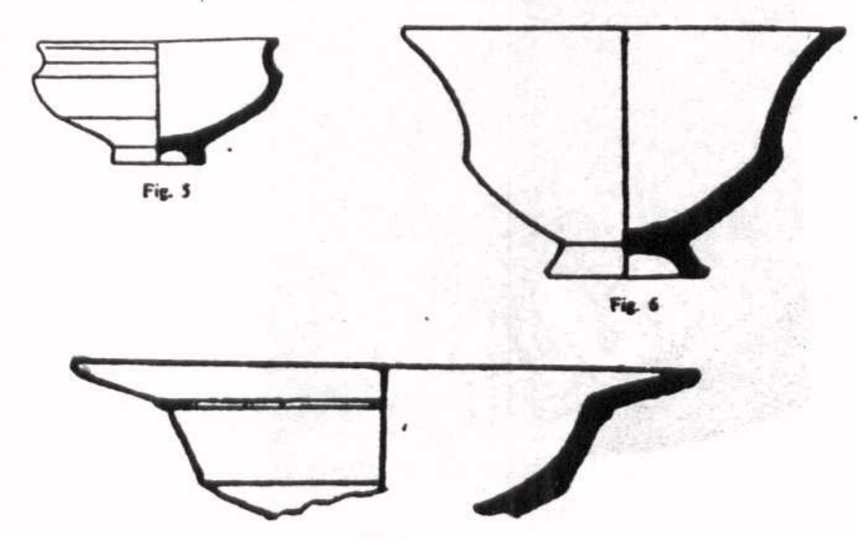


Fig. 5

Fig. 6

Fig 7

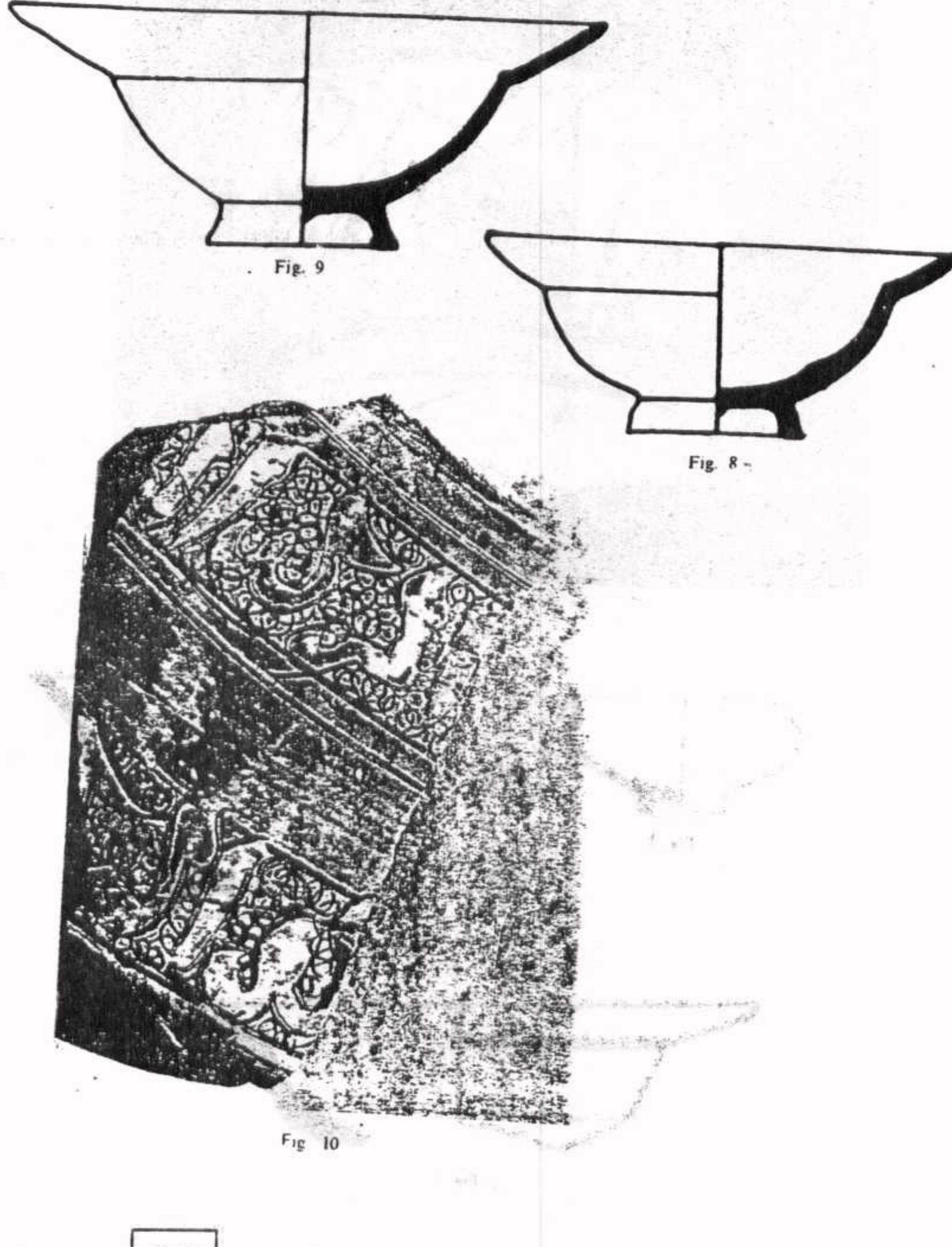


Fig. 9

Fig. 8 -

Fig 10

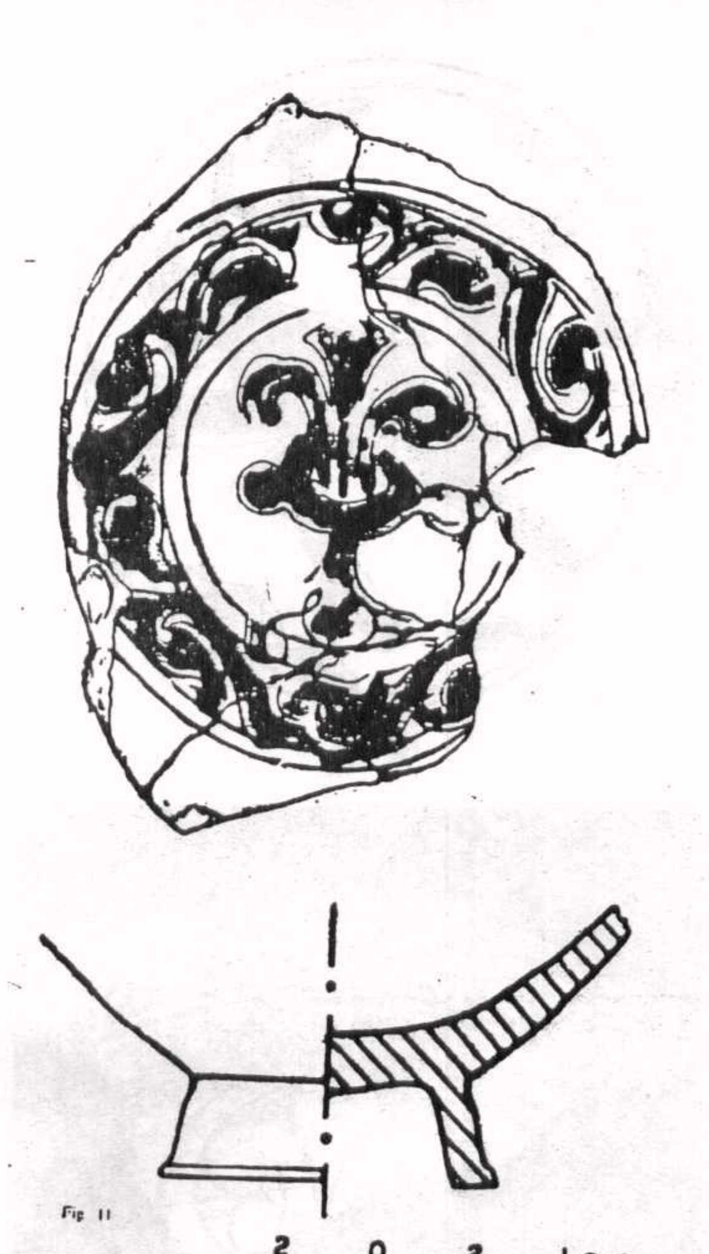


Fig 11



Fig. 12

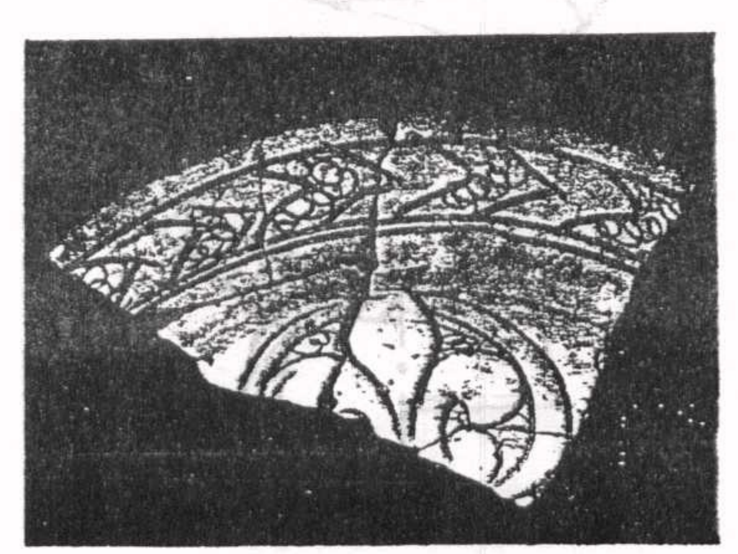


Fig 13

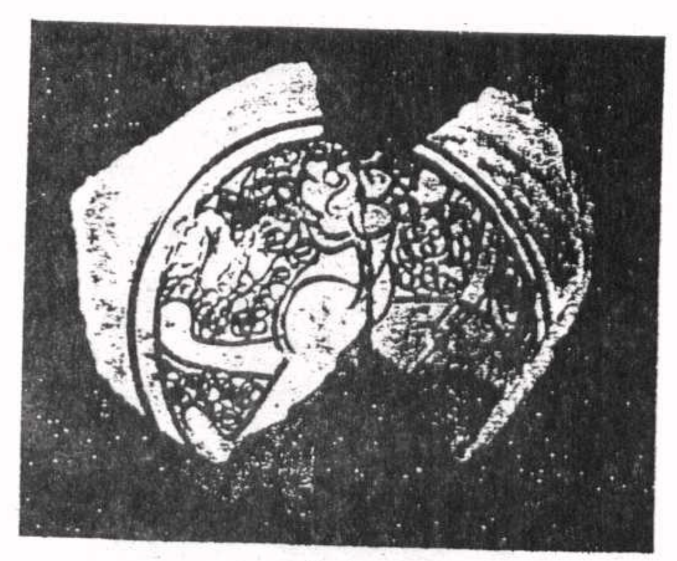


Fig. 14

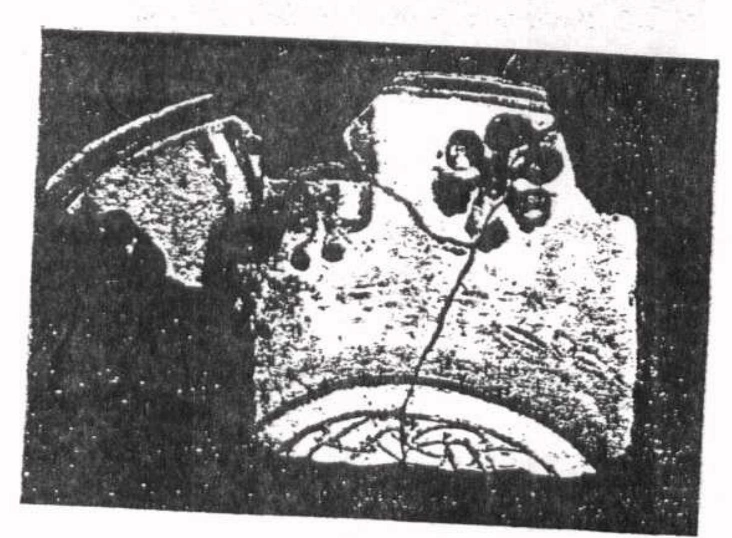


Fig. 15

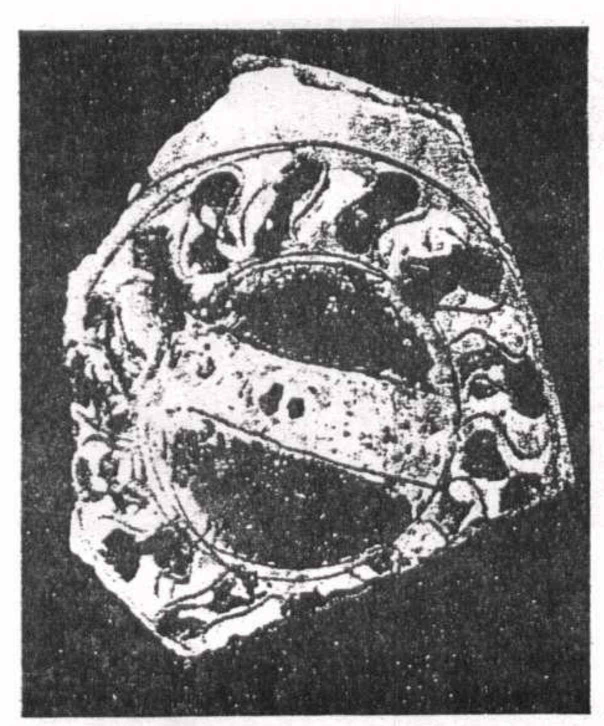


Fig. 16

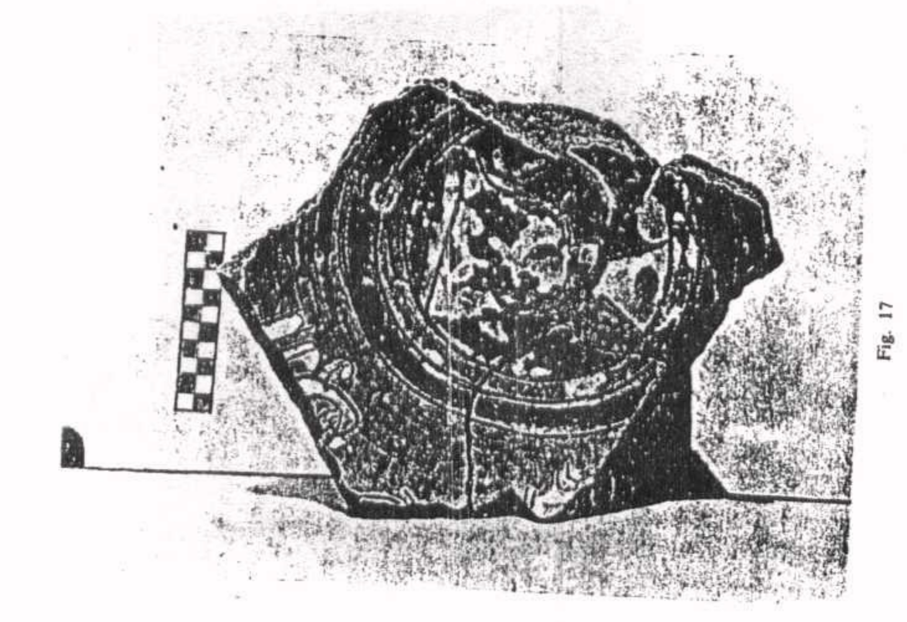


Fig. 17

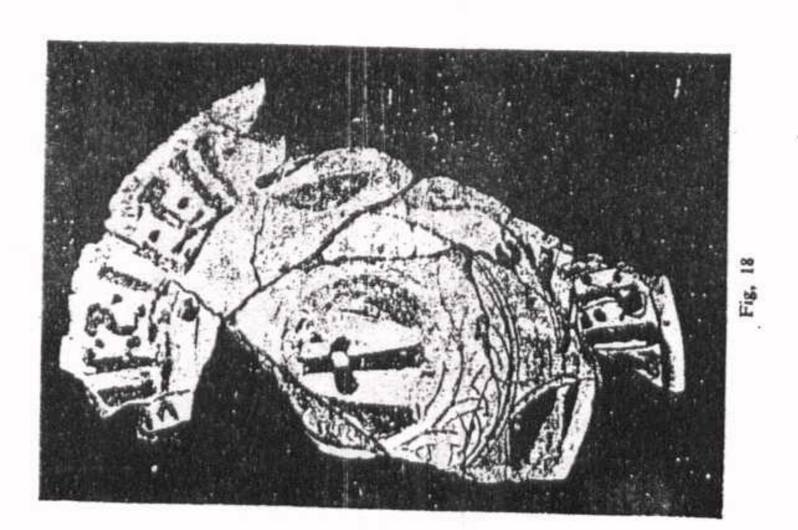


Fig. 18

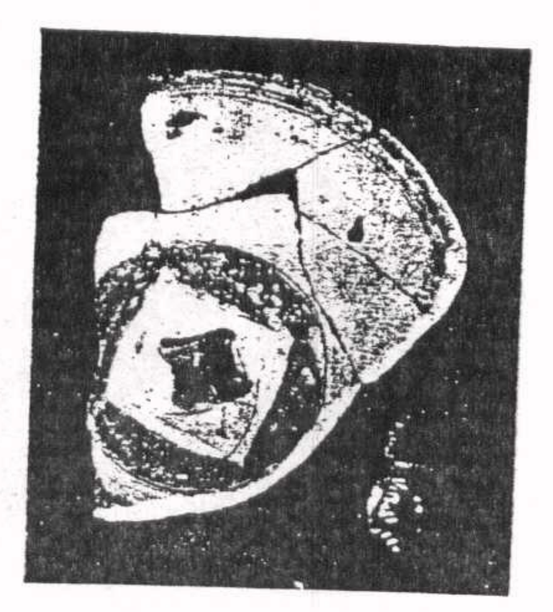


Fig. 19

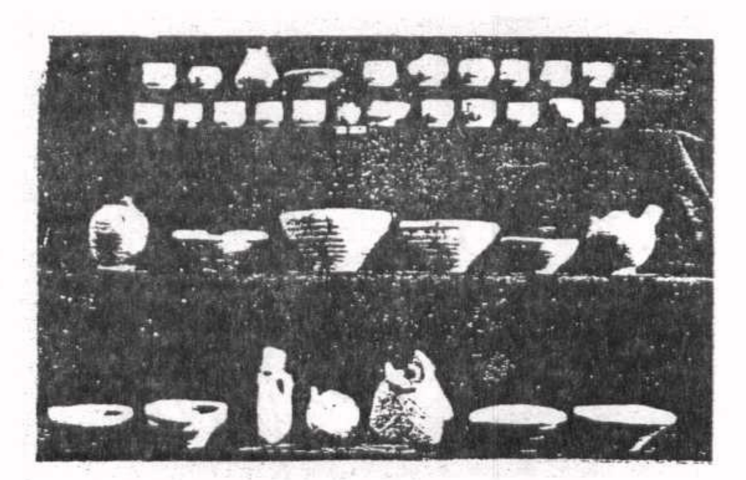


Fig. 20



Fig. 21

Erinna : The Poetess of Telos, And Poets of The Alexandrian School*

M. M. El Salamouni, Ph. D.

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ERINNA: THE POETESS OF TELOS, AND THE POETS OF THE ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL

BY

M. M. EL SALAMOUNI, Ph.D.

Professor of Classics
Faculty of Arts, Cairo University.

Erinna, the poetess of Telos and the authoress of the Distaff(1), was one of the favourite figures who found enthusiastic admirers among some of the Alexandrian poets. As their admiration must have been based on some foundation, I have found it worth my while to concern myself with a study of this poetess and her art. In so doing, I hope to shed some light on her poetic art, which was enthusiastically welcomed by these poets, and her relation to the Alexandrian school of poetry at Alexandria in general.

In order to deal with these questions systematically the poetess' date, which is a debatable point, should be first settled. According to Prof. Wilamowitz (2), Erinna began her poetical career about the middle of the

(1) See p 20, Note 6. and Appendix of Greek Texts, pp. 29-30.

(2) Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos, 1924, p. 108. Prof. Wilamowitz' date is based on the authority of Jerome's version of Eusebius, who placed it in 01. 106-7, 356-353 B. C. This seems to be the only reasonable one in ancient authorities. Suidas' statements on Erinna (S. V. Ἤριννα) are inconsistent and also unhelpful. He is uncertain of what he states especially about the place and date of her birth. Thus according to him her birth place is Tenos or Lesbos or Telos or Rhodes and he makes her a contemporary of Sappho " ἦν δὲ ἑταίρα Σαπφοῦς, καὶ ὁμόχρονος ".

Prof. Bowra in two most illuminating articles on Erinna (New Chapters in the history of Greek Literature, III series, Oxford, 1933, pp. 180-185. and Greek Poetry and Life, Oxford 1936, pp. 325-348) of which I gratefully made use, wishes to consider Erinna as an Alexandrian poetess. He says 'though the evidence is scanty, it looks as if her short period of poetic activity took place in the first quarter of the third century', (New chapters ... p. 184). Then he changes his mind three years later and considers her a forerunner of the Alexandrian Age ;he says ' if she did not herself belong to the Aleexandrian Age, she was at least its forerunner' (Greek Poetry and Life, p. 341).

We are not then far from the truth in stating that Erinna belongs to the fourth century and probably to its middle ; Cf. also Prof. Rose, H. J. (A Hand Book of Greek Literature from Homer to the Age of Lucian, ivth edition, 1950) p. 341 ; Crusius, PW. vol. vi. p. 455 ; R. Reitzenstein, Epig. und Skolion, p. 143 and others.

fourth century B. C. She is a native of a little island, Telos, which belonged to Rhodes [1] and she died about 350 B. C [2], at the very young age of nineteen [3] In this case Erinna would be precisely a forerunner of the poets of the Alexandrian Age. If this is so—and it is highly probable—, the relation of this poetess with the Alexandrian poets becomes clearer.

Erinna is known to us through some fragments and epigrams [4] and also through a short or epyllion-like poem containing 300 hexametric lines [5] called the Distaff, 'Αλακάτα[6].

I am here concerned with the 'Αλακάτα, because it shows the authoress at her best. In this poem, Erinna commemorated simply and yet artistically, her affection for Baucis, who was her friend from early childhood and also depicted her grief on two occasions; these were her separation from Baucis on the latter's marriage and Baucis' death shortly after that. The poetess recalls some memories of childhood and speaks of games and dolls and bitterly sings of past pleasures [7].

This short and rather sketchy account of Erinna's life having been given, it is now time to give some account of the criticism of the poets

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(1) Op. cit, p. 108 ; She may be still a native of Tenos.

(2) Cf. Pierre Waltz, Anthologie Grecque, Tome 111, 1931, p. 186.

(3) In the papyrus containing the remains of Erinna's poem on her dead friend Baucis (see Bowra, Greek Poetry and Life, p. 325 sqq. Lines 14-39 will be found in the Appendix of Greek Texts, pp. 29-30) the word ἐννεα [και] δέκατοƆ is mentioned in l. 37. This must refer to Erinna's age. Cf. Asclepiades, Anth. Pal. vii. 11, 2, παρθενικᾶς ἐννεακαιδε-κέτευς, the anonymous epigram, Ibid., ix, 190, 4, παρθενικῆς ἐννεακαιδεκέτευς and Suidas, s. v. Ἤριννα τελευτᾷ δὲ παρθένος ἐννεακαιδεκετευς. These references may be taken as evidences that she died when she was nineteen years old.

(4) Cf. Deihl, I, pp. 486-488. Of the three surviving epigrams, one is dedicatory (Anth. Pal. vi., 353) and two sepulchral (Ibid., vii. 710 and 712). Meleager's Stephanus must have included some more to justify its author's γλυκὺν 'Ηρίννης παρθενόχρωτα κρόκον (Anth. Pal. iv., I, 1. 12). I may say in passing that Meleager imitated Erinna, but the model excels the copy. Compare Meleager's Ibid. vii, 182 with Erinna's ibid., vii. 721.

(5) On the length of the poem, see Suidas, s. v. Ἤριννα and follow Prof. Bowra's argument (Greek Poetry and Life, pp. 340-341). Anyhow after he aroused some doubts, he was finally convinced that Suidas' statement is right. Cf. also the anonymous epigram (Anth. Pal. ix, 190, 1. 3) οἱ δὲ τριηκόσιοι ταύτης στίχοι.

(6) This title which we also owe to Suidas, may not have been given by Erinna but may be an invention of some one else. However although the poem is painly a lament, yet some words in the poem refer to wool-making and spinning : cf. ἐρειθοις (1.23) and ἀλακάταν ἐσορεῖ-[σα. Outside the 'Αλακάτα we meet some phrases which indicate that their writers were familiar with this poem of Erinna : cf. Anth. Pal. vii, 12, 1. 4 ... λινοκλώστου δεσπότις ἠλακάτης and ibid., IX. 190, 1·5., ἢ καὶ ἐπ' ἠλακάτῃ μητρὸς φόβῳ, ἢ καὶ ἐφ' ἱστῷ...

(7) See further Prof. Bowra's detailed treatment of the poem, op. cit. 327 sqq.

who concerned themselves with Erinna. Asclepiades, the Hellenistic epigrammatist[1] wrote an extremely fine epigram in which Erinna was highly rated. By putting the following words in Erinna's mouth, he tried to do justice to the poetess : «This is the sweet work of Erinna, not great in size as being that of a maiden of nineteen, but greater in power than that of many others. If death had not come early to me, who would have had so great a name ? (2a). Such a high appraisal, although not analytical, is due to that young poetess' true and tender sentiment which is generally revealed in her epigrams and also in the lament, the 'Αλακάτα for her friend Baucis. Although there is not the slightest hint to Erinna's 'Αλακάτα, yet Asclepiades' metaphoric ἀνθρακιή in one of his amatory epigrams[2b] is not a mere coincidence but a reminiscence of this poetess [3] and it is at the same time a mark of Asclepiades' appreciation of this poem. Again Antipater of Sidon, the Alexandrian epigrammatist of the second century B. C., paid Erinna an exaggerated homage. He played a note on Asclepiades' chord but in his own rhetorical way [4]. Her poetical works, which are evidently tender and pathetic are likened by Antipater to the low song of the swan in contrast to the cawing of sonorous jackdaws [5]. In this he might have been thinking, among her other poems, of the 'Αλακάτα. In a third epigram attributed either to Leonidas (of Tarentum) or to Meleager [6],

(1) He wrote in the Hellenistic Period I, which begins with 323 B. C. and ends just before the years 280-275, the beginning of the Hellenistic Period II or the Alexandrian Period. Cf. my article «An attempt for defining the 'Alexandrian Period, as an independent era of Greek Literature», Mondial Press, Cairo, 1955, where (pp. 13-14) I said 'It is time, then, that we began to use the terms «Hellenistic» and «Aexandrian» in their strictest senses. «Hellenistic» is naturally used only as a general label for the whole period beginning with 323. «Alexandrian» represents a definite division of the «Hellenistic» beginning with one of the earlier years of the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus'.

(2 a) Anth. Pal. vii, 11. vide Appendix of Greek Texts, P. 30. This is not absolutely a sepulchral epigram. It should have been included in the ix th book, since it is nothing but a critical note on Erinna's poetic works. It is believed by some that this epigram is a prefatory poem to Erinna's small book (cf. Pierre Waltz, op, cit., iv., p. 61. n. 1 and Prof. Bowra, op. cit., p. 339) where the latter assumed that Erinna's book was first published by Asclepiades. Such views however could not be readily accepted for granted.

(2 b) Anth Pal. xii, 166.

(3) Cp. Asclepiades, ibid., 1, 4 with Erinna, 1. 20.

(4) Anth. Pal. VII, 713. This epigram is wrongly included in sepulchral eipigrams. It should have been included in the ix th book, since it is an appreciation of Erinna's verses. I agree with Prof. Bowra's deduction that this eipgram is an eulogy of her Distaff, as it is the only hexametric poem which we have of this poetess. see his discussion (op. cit., p. 340).

(5) Ibid., 11. 7-8.

(6) Anth. Pal. VII, 13 [Leonidae tantum apud Plan. tribuitur, Leonidae tribuunt plerique commentatores, Meleagro vero Hecker, Stadtmüller, Wifstrand (Pierre Waltz, op. cit., IV, p. 62)]. It is noteworthy that the epigrammatist used a quotation from Erinna's epigram on her friend Baucis. Vide 'Βάσκανος ἔσσ', 'Αΐδα' of the IVth line of this epigram and IIIrd line of Erinna's epigram (Ibid. 712). This epigram is an epideictic epitaph.

Erinna is spoken of as a sweet and new singer who was carried off by Hades, while she was gathering flowers of the Muses. In this he likened the poetess who died young to the mythological Persephone. But after all, this epigram is no more than a fine homage paid to Erinna.

Now we pass to Erinna's 'Ἀλακάτα, which is the main subject of this article. An anonymous epigrammatist eulogized Erinna ([1]), the mistress of the Distaff who sang it with her swan-like voice ([2]) and because of which she is immortal and joins in the dance of the Muses. Her 'Ἀλακάτα proper was the subject of a laudatory epigram ([3]) written by another anonymous epigrammatist who seemed very interested in the Distaff and its young authoress. To him she is equal to Homer and not inferior to Sappho. The lines of the epigram run thus : «This is the Lesbian honeycomb of Erinna, and if it is small, it is all mixed with honey from the Muses. Her three hundred lines are equal to Homer, though she was a girl of nineteen years—a maid who at once in fear of her mother, sat by her distaff and stood at her loom as a bond servant in the service of the Muses ([4]). As much as Sappho surpasses Erinna in lyrics, so much does Erinna excel Sappho in hexameters». This appreciation of Erinna's 'Ἀλακάτα is in my opinion, rather mere enthusiasm than pure criticism, but it is not altogether untrue ; for this poem, as one of our eminent modern scholars sees it, is epoch-making ([5]).

Such general appreciation leads us to discuss the different opinions of some of the eminent poets and the first makers of Alexandrian poetry given of Erinna and her Distaff such as Callimachus, the prolific poet, and Theocritus, the reviver of mime and the father of bucolic or pastoral poetry. This will reveal Erinna's position among the Alexandrians and her relation with them. Callimachus' extant poems never mentioned even the name of Erinna, but an epigrammatic

(1) Anth. Pal.. VII, 12.

(2) This epigram may be a copy of Antipater's (of Sidon) epigram (Ibid., VII, 713) ; Compare 1. 2 of this eipigram with 1. 7 of Antipater's one.

(3) Anth. Pal., IX., 190. Vide Appendix of Greek Texts, p. 30. This epigram is attributed variously to Callimachus (Benndorf), Antipater of Sidon (Stadtmüller) and to Meleager (Wilamowitz). I myself, am disinclined to attribute such an epigram to Callimachus or to Meleager, since, these, who revealed themselves dexterous literary critics, could have not taken her as an equal to Homer nor could they have held a comparison between Sappho and Erinna on the basis of metre. The comparison may have been justified by common character of the writings of both poetesses. See further Prof. Bowra, op. cit. p. 342. Otherwise such a comparison cannot be taken seriously.

(4) Erinna may have taken part in working at wool (see Erinna's Distaff., 1. 39). Her mother may have employed women as hired wool-workers (Ibid., 11. 22-24). In this the mother would be like the daughters of Lycomedes of Leonidas of Tarentum, cf. Anth. Pal., VI., 288.

(5) Wilamowitz, op. cit., p. 108.

lampoon of Antiphanes of Macedonia, an Augustan epigrammatist, would possibly reveal Callimachus' attitude towards this poetess. In this epigram [1], in which Antiphanes furiously attacked Callimachus' school for being harsh critics, book-worms and fond of obscurity, he sarcastically addressed them as proud of Erinna 'ἐπ 'Ηρίννη δὲ κομῶντες [2]. This phrase is evidently an added evidence to the admiration of the Callimachean school of this poetess. Again Erinna's conception of the Μορμώ [3], the bogey, as a means of frightening children is used by Callimachus who makes Hermes frighten the disobedient daughter of Oceanus [4]. Here it may be said in passing that Callimachus' bogey is different from that of Erinna ; for he used a god for frightening a deity's daughter. In this he dealt with gods in a new way which is typical of Alexandrian practice ; for in the hands of the Alexandrian poets gods lost much of their old dignity. They were no longer considered as superhuman beings who presided over mankind and punished the evil-doers. Realism, a manifest feature of the Alexandrian poetic production, shows itself clearly in the treatment of these superhuman Homeric and Hesiodic gods, who sometimes, without intentional humiliation or disdain, were reduced to the status of human beings. They shared with human beings their good qualities, failures and troubles. We have many interesting and striking portrayals of these deities in almost all the poetic types of this period [5]. They, too, sometimes became a fertile subject for a refined game of phantasy [6].

(1) Anth. Pal., XI., 322.

(2) Ibid., 1. 3. See infra p. 27 and note 3.

(3) Erinna. ibid., 1. 25 For detailed discussion of the Mormo, Vide infra Note 42.

(4) Hymn III, To Artemis, 11. 68-71. Vide Appendix of Greek Texts, p. 30. By using the verb μορμύσσομαι instead of Erinna's Μορμώ, Callimachus may have wished, as he always did, to deviate from this poetess. It may also be said in passing that Erinna mentioned the Μορμώ (Ibid. 1. 25) in connection with herself and her friend Baucis as human beings. Callimachus on the other hand makes Hermes play the part of Μορμώ for terrifying a deity's daughter.

(5) Few examples would illustrate such treatment. Hephaestus used to go early to his work-shop as an ordinary paid-worker (Apoll. Agron. III, II. 40-43). Cypris, his wife, is depicted as a typical eastern middle-class woman. She is a good housekeeper, who manage her own affairs without the help of a maid either to look after her or her house ; for she dresses her own long hair (Ibid., ll. 45-47). Again she takes interest in family life responsibilities, for she makes her husband's bed herself (Ibid., 1.40). As a mother, Cypris had her own troubles. Her only son, Eros, does not obey her. He is naughty and a rascal. In a very fascinating passage Apollonius disclosed to our eyes a picture of Cypris and her heavenly guests, Hera and Athena. As soon as her guests begged her to order her 'boy' to charm the Colchian princess, Medea, with love for Jason, she began to complain of her son's conduct and behaviour (Ibid., I. 190 sqq.). No human mother could have complained more bitterly.

(6) Zeus, the father of the gods, for instance, became a flirt and a seeker of love-affairs (Theoc. Idyl. VIII, 11. 59-60). Theocritus also deemed Eros to be cruel (Idyl. III, 1. 15). The amatory epigrams of this period abound in references attributing naughtiness to different gods, especially to Zeus and Eros. In fact this rather irreverent treatment of gods is by no means new. Long before gods suffered much at the hands of the masters of comedy. If the Alexandrians, however, were not the originators of this convention, they were at least unique in developing it.

After this inevitable digression, we return to Antiphanes' epigram to discuss the reason why this young poetess, Erinna, was highly admired and by whom she was cherished. This poetess was, as inferred from this epigram, overestimated by the school of innovators, whose head was Callimachus (1). No wonder Erinna won an exceptionally distinguished praise from this school. First she is an authoress of a short poem. Her Distaff in particular must have attracted them, being possessed of certain characteristics which meet their taste and conform to their literary principles and tendencies. It is short, in other words, an Epyllion—like poem (2), which they preferred to epic (3). It is composed in hexameter, an unusual medium for expressing personal feelings (4). Such a tendency towards composing poems in media other than the hexameter is not only favoured by them, but also generally practised by other poets of the period. In their hands the hexameter and elegiac couplet were used for themes of lyrical flavour. The traditional convention of treating a certain theme in a specific metre is by now, and on purpose thrown in the air (5). Again its language which is a combination of Doric and Aeolic, harmonizes with the method they follow in their compositions. Callimachus and Theocritus, for example, used to mix two dialects or even more. Moreover being a mixture of realism and romance, the Distaff must have still more attracted them. Although the scholar-poets of Alexandria are more or less inclined to realism, they generally have a tendency towards romance. Thus we have in Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius Rhodius, for example, great figures of romanticism (6). There still remain some obvious characteristics which may have been cherished by these scholar-poets: her sincerity, tenderness and, to a certain extent, her simplicity. It should be remembered, however, that Erinna's simplicity and sincerity were not looked upon by these poets as welcome stylistic features ; for the chief concern of the majority of those poets was for

(1) This is in contrast to the school of the quasi-conservatives, the mouthpiece of which, is Apollonius Rhodius. For the clash which took place between these two schools, see my article «The literary quarrel at Alexandria as championed by Callimachus V. Apollonius Rhodius, Cairo, Jan. 1964.

(2) As a matter of fact, it is not an Epyllion in the Alexandrian manner especially in the hands of Theocritus ; for the subject and characteristics of the Alexandrian Epyllion, see Prof. A. M. Duff, S. V. Epyllion, Oxf. Class. Dict. p. 336.

(3) See Callimachus' Hymn II, To Apollo, 11. 105-112 ; Anth Pal. XII, 43., 1. 1 ; Oxyrh. Pap. No 2079, 11. 3-5, 19-20. 17-18 etc. See my article referred to in Note. 1.

(4) See p. 25 and note 6.

(5) To give only two examples, Callimachus' Aetia, the themes of which are didactic in essence. is composed in elegiac couplets instead of the hexameter, the conventional vehicle of the didactic poetry. The Victory Ode for Sosibius (fr. 60. Pf.) which should have been in lyrical metre is also written in elegiac couplets.

(6) See Callimachus' Lock of Berenice (Catullus 66), Theocritus, 11 etc., and Apollonius Rhodius, the Argonautica, book III.

elaborated, learned and affected sentimentality. Those are the characteristics of the Distaff which may have given its authoress an eminent literary position acknowledged by the Callimachean school, and exerted at the same time an influence on their compositions ([1]).

However Theocritus' relation with Erinna's Distaff and his reminiscences of the poetess are certain and uncontroversial. That is why only a close study of them can settle the question of Erinna's position among the Alexandrian poets. Of Theocritus' familiarity and reminiscences of Erinna, we have not a few instances in his work.

Theocritus' familiarity with Erinna's poetic work is almost undisputed. He knew her through his friend Asclepiades of Samos, the keen admirer of this poetess ([2]). As a matter of fact this poetess was known to the Coan school of poetry to which both Asclepiades and Theocritus belonged ([3]). That there is some similarity between Theocritus and Erinna in the treatment of a subject common to both of them is not difficult to see. Theocritus' lament for Daphnis([4]) shares with Erinna's Distaff certain important features. Like the Distaff, this Idyll is written in hexameters ([5]). One of the differences between the two is that Erinna's Distaff., being the lament for Baucis, is real, personal and natural and a true record of her own feelings, while the lament for Daphnis ([6])

(1) Especially Theocritus, see the following pages,

(2) Cf. Anth. Pal., VII, 11. See supra, note 2 a. p. 21. It is certain that Theocritus was a friend of Asclepiades. He mentioned him by his pen-name, Sicelidas, cf., VII, 1. 40. Prof. J. M. Edmonds (the Greek Bucolic Poets, L. C. L. P. XIV) says 'Sicelidas, on external grounds, is certainly to be identified with the poet Asclepiades ; it is to be noted that he is called Sicelidas elsewhere than in Theocritus'. Prof. Rose (Op. cit., p. 332) did not commit himself when he said «They mention a certain Sicelidas, who may perhaps be Asclepiades (note 63). So the schol. on VII, 40, giving as the reason that his father's name was Sikelos». Vide also Anth. Pal. IV., I, 1.46, where Prof. W. R. Paton (The Greek Anthology, London, 1927-vol. I., p. 113, Note 3—) agrees that Sicelides is a nickname given by Theocritus to Asclepiades.

(3) Philetas, the head of the Coan school of poetry, was known to Theocritus. He mentions him by name (VII, 1. 40). This may mean that Theocritus was either his pupil or was one of his admirers and thus belonged to his school.

(4) Idyll I, θύρσις.

(5) Erinna's poem, as a cry of sorrow on the death of a personal friend composed in hexameters, is, in fact, a substitute of the θρῆνος composed in lyrical metres. Thus it may be said with high probability that Erinna, as far as we know, was the creator of this personal hexametric-threnodic new type. She however has undoubtly used some earlier models so skilfully that she had a claim to be the originator of this specified lament. The model used may be Homer (Cf. Il. xxiv, ll. 472-4 where the Trojan women bewail Hector). Praxilla, the poetess of Sicyon (fl. 451 B. C.) and the authoress of the hymn on the death of Adonis may be another model.

(6) So is also the anonymous lament for Bion which may have been written in the Alexandrian age.

is literary, dramatic and imaginary and not without artificial devices such as the refrains used by the Alexandrian poet. The fact that such similarity is not a mere coincidence can be attested by some words and phrases which occur in Erinna's poem and those of Theocritus' which I take as Theocritan reminiscences of Erinna. The word δαγύς—probably a Thessalian word ([1])—which Erinna used when she recalled the childhood with its dolls, is not found in any Greek poetry except in Theocritus ([2]). This poet used this word in comparing Simaetha to a doll made of hard wax to show that her fair flesh became stiff and pale ([3]). Again Erinna's conception of Mormo, the bogey, as a trick for frightening children ([4]) can be met with in Theocritus ([5]). Theocritus' Mormo may seem a mere coincidence ([6]), as Praxinoa's Horse-bogey is of a different character, but in the light of Theocritus' other reminiscences of that poetess, he may have been chiefly influenced by her. Another reminiscence of Erinna can be traced with high probability in Theocritus' use of ἴχνια θερμά. That ἴχνια in both poets is qualified by θερμά which, as far as we know ([7]), is not found elsewhere, is strong evidence that Theocritus used Erinna's phrase, although he put it to a different use ([8]). So also Theocritus' conception of ἔριθος as a she-wool-worker, though used by Demosthenes in the same meaning ([9]), may still be regarded as a reminiscence of Erinna or at least as a mark of his familiarity of Erinna's Distaff ([10]).

These however are some examples which illustrate more or less the similarities of Theocritus' language to that of Erinna. They indicate in all probability that Theocritus was not only familiar with Erinna's Distaff, but also a keen admirer

(1) Cf. Voss. Virg. Ecl. 8. 73 (Liddell and Scott, VIIIth ed.).

(2) II, 110. As δαγύς may have been used for the first time by Erinna, the undisputed predecessor of Theocritus, it should have been rightly attributed to this poetess in the dictionaries, as it is always the case. To my wonder the Gr.—Engl. Lexicon (Liddell and Scott. New Edition—the Tenth-1940), for example, did not refer to this poetess, although her 'Αλακάτα was published in 1929 and in 1934. Vide Bowra, op. cit. p. 325, notes 1 and 2.

(3) This may be taken an evidence that Erinna's doll was made of wax.

(4) L. 25. Vide Appendix of Greek Texts, p. 29. It is noteworthy that Erinna's Mo ρμώ is described as a hideous she-monster with great ears, and four feet, and who used to change from one appearance to another, cf. Ibid. 11. 26—27.

(5) XV. 40 : μορμώ δάκνει ἵππος'.

(6) The Mormo was well known some time before Erinna ; Cf. Xenophon, Hell. 4. 4. 17: 'ὥσπερ μορμόνας παιδάρια'.

(7) The only combination is found in an anonymous epigram, Anth. Pal. IX, 371, 1. 2, θερ· οῖς ἴχνεσιν; but this epigram is of a later date and the phrase has a different meaning.

(8) Cf. Erinna, ibid., 11. 19-20 with Theocr. XVII, 11. 121-122. It is noticeable that Erinna used ἴχνιον the dim. of ἴχνος whereas Theocritus used ἴχνος. This may be due to the fact that Erinna's theme is more pathetic. It may also be due to metric requirements. We may state in passing that Erinna's Distaff was known to Virgil, for he also played with the same expression when he spoke of the love of Dido, Aen. IV., 23 : 'Veteris vestigia flammae'.

(9) 1313, 6.

(10) Cf. Erinna, ibid., 1. 23 with Theocritus, XV, 1.80.

of that young poetess, the originator of this genre which he both admired and practised (1). In this he could also be regarded as one of the Callimachean school (2), by whom Erinna (3) was considered a writer of a flawless short piece,

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(1) For his dislike of longer poems in imitation of Homer, See VII, 11. 45-48.

(2) The other school is the quasi-conservative whose representative is Apollonius Rhodius, the opponent of Callimachus.

(3) If Erinna was highly honoured by this school, Antimachus of Colophon was exceedingly favoured by others among the Alexandrian poets. This poet of the fifth century B. C. was glorified by unreserved praise by not a few poets, who considered him the founder of their school. It is his Lyde which fascinated them and roused their admiration for this poet. This elegiac work—in three books, called after the name of his beloved—is narrative in character or 'a sort of epic in elegiac verse as Couat (Alexandrian poetry under the first three Ptolemies, translated by James Loeb, London, 1931, p. 67) very intelligently called it, has all that delights many among the Alexandrian poets. It abounds in legends of every kind, prolific imagination and vast erudition. Its subject which deals with lovers and the enumeration of the great misfortunes caused by love, appeals to some of them such as Hermesianax who drew inspiration from it and made use of Antimachus' method of enumeration in his Leontion. Appollonius Rhodius in his Argonautica may have possibly copied Antimachus or at least consulted his account ot the Golden Fleece (See Couat, op. cit., p. 309., note 2). No wonder then if some of the eminent epigrammatists of the age celebrated this work of Antimachus. Asclepiades, an immediate pre-Alexandrian poet, in one of his literary epigrams paid it due homage. It is, in his opinion a joint work of the Muses and Antimachus 'τὸ ξυνὸν Μουσῶν γράμμα καὶ 'Αντιμά-χου ' (Anth. Pal. IX., 63., 1. 4). Poseidippus, Asclepiades' friend and pupil, mentions it in one of his scolion-like epigrams side by side with Mimnermus' Nanno (Anth. Pal. XII, 168). This admirer of the two collections was not blind to the fact that they are different in spirit and we owe to him his sound criticism on their composers : Mimnermus is the lovers ' friend while Antimachus is 'sober' (Ibid. 11. 1-2). Antipater of Sidon, an epigrammatist of the later Alexandrian period carried his praise too far. In an epigram which shows every sign of rhetorical influence (Anth. Pal. VII, 409 ; by error committed by scribe C, this epigram was attributed to Antipater of Thessalonica ; such is the opinion of the authorities), Antipater first praised Antimachus and his verses as a whole, then compared this same poet to Homer and in order to make this comparison effective and valid, he held a comparison between Zeus and Poseidon.

Callimacnus however gives us his own impression of Antimachus' Lyde which is absolutely different from those mentioned above. In one of his fragments which by a stroke of good fortune escaped oblivion, Callimachus considered it « a dull and unpolished piece of writing» Λύδη καὶ παΧὺ γρ άμμα καὶ οὐ τορόν (Schol. Dion. Perieg. a. Schneid. Callim. 74B). Although the statement is very brief, yet Callimachus, the alert critic, succeeded in giving his judgement on the Lyde from two points of view : its subject-matter and treatment and also its style ; and by so doing he gave his general impression of Antimachus and his writings. What can be understood from παχὺ γράμμα according to Callimachus' own practice and views, results from the traditional characteristics which the cyclic poems have been revealing for a long time : long and minute accounts ab ovo, the hackneyed epidsodes, the use of epithets and formulae etc. Again Antimachus' Thebais as a cyclic poem which must have all the virtues and vices of this sort of poetry could not be, because the same defects, liked by Callimachus whose hatred for the cyclic poems and poets is well known (Anth. Pal. XII, 43 ; Strabo, XIV, 638, Mair, 7, wil. 6 and Cahen, 6).

Now if we turn to the stylistic defects to which the phrase 'γράμμα οὐ τορόν' refers, this Lyde must be regarded by Callimachus,—who, in spite of his erudition, is considered refined and elegant, as turgid heavy and unpolished. This is due perhaps to Antimachus' use of 'glosses', neologisms, obscure periphrases and the display of recondite learning. It is surprising that all these defects can be met more or less in nearly all the writings of the Alexandrian period including those of Callimachus himself. It is also surprising that there is an argumentative resemblance between Antimachus and Callimachus. The latter's minute recording of Artemis' titles and cults in his Hymn 'To Artemis' recalls what Antimachus practised in his hexametric poem on Artemis (Prof. Barber, V. S. Antimachus, Oxf. Class. Dict. p. 59). If this is a mere reminiscence of the former poet, it seems that there must be something in Antimachus' poems capable of attracting Callimachus' attention.

I hope it is now clear that if Antimachus has partisans among the poets of Alexandria, these are admittedly outside Callimachus' school.

of finished verse worthy of imitation.

All these considerations together with Erinna's priority of date justifies the assumption that this poetess was among the different pre-Alexandrian poets who had more or less influence on the poetic output of the Alexandrian period. Poets and particularly the most eminent of them were fascinated by her : Callimachus has already been dealt with.Another is Theacritus, who may have introduced her to his fellow-poets as an authoress of a short or epyllion-like poem. Erinna was highly admired by both Callimachus and Theocritus together with their particular school. The sincerity of her passion and the simplicity of her language must have been her most cherished qualities. But neither Callimachus nor even Theocritus, the most natural and simple of his fellow-poets, could be her rival.

APPENDIX OF GREEK TEXTS

Note 3, p. 20 Col. I

14. ἐς βαθ] ὐ κῦμα

Col. II

15. λε]υκᾶν μαινομέν [οισιν ἐσάλαο π] οσσὶν ἀφ' ἵ [π] πω [ν·
''ἀλ] λ' ἴσ [Χ] ω,'' μέγ' ἄυσα· ''φ [ίλα,'' τὺ δ'ἔοισα] Χελύννα

ἀλ] λομένα μεγάλας [ἔδραμες κατὰ] Χορτίον αὐλᾶς·
τα] ῦτα τύ, Βαυκὶ τάλαι [να, βαρὺστονα] Χεῖσα γόημ [ι·

τα] ῦτά μοι ἐν κρα[δίαι καὶ νῦν γοε] ρᾶι ἴΧνια κεῖται

20. θέρμ' ἔτι· τῆν [αδ',ἅ πρίν ποκ' ἐπα] ὑρομες, ἄνθρακες ἤδη·

δαγύ [δ] ων τ' ἐΧ [όμεσθα νεαν] ίδες ἐν θαλάμοισι,
νύμ [φαι] σιν [προσόμοιοι ἀκηδ] έες· ἅ τε πὸτ ὄρθρον
μάτηρ, ἅ ἔ [ριον νέμεν ἀμφιπόλ] οισιν ἐρείθοις,
τήνα σ' ἦλθ [ε κρέας προκαλευμέ] να ἀμφ' ἀλίπαστον·

25. αἵ μικραῖς τ [όκα νῶϊν ὅσον] φόβον ἄγαγε Μο-[ρμ] ώ,

τᾶ]ς ἐν μὲν κο [ρυφᾶι μεγάλ' ὦ]ατα· ποσσὶ δ' ἐφοίτη

τέ] τρασιν· ἐκ δ' [ἑτέρας ἑτέραν] μετεβάλλετ' ὀπωπάν·

ἀνίκα δ' ἐς [λ] ἐΧος [ἀνδρὸς ἔβας, τ]όκα πάντ' ἐλέλασο

ἅσσ' ἔτι νηπιάσα [σα] τ [εᾶς παρὰ] ματρὸς ἄκουσας,

30. Β] αυκὶ φίλα· λάθα[ν ἄρ'] ἐ[νὶ φρεσὶ θῆκ'] 'Αφροδίτα·

τῶ τυ κατακλαίοισα τὰ [κάδεα νῦν] παραλείπω [·]
οὐ [γ] ἀρ μοι πόδες [ἐντὶ λιπῆν] ἄπο δῶμα βέβαλοι·

οὐδ' ἐσιδῆν φαέ [σσι πρέπει νέ]κυν οὐδὲ γοᾶσαι
γυμναῖσιν Χαίταισιν, [ἐπεὶ φο] ινίκεος αἰδὼς

Col. III 35

δρύπτει μ' ἀμφι [
αἰε [ί] δὲ προπάροιθ [ε
ἐννεα [και] δέκατος [
Ἤριννά [ν τ] ε φίλαι π.[
ἀλακάταν ἐσορεῖ [σα

Note 2a. p. 21

Ὁ γλυκὺς Ἠρίννης οὗτος πόνος, οὐΧὶ πολὺς μέν,
ὡς ἂν παρθενικᾶς ἐννεακαιδεκέτευς,
ἀλλ' ἑτέρων πολλῶν δυνατώτερος· εἰ δ' Ἀΐδας μοι
μὴ ταΧὺς ἦλθε, τίς ἂν ταλίκον ἔσΧ' ὄνομα;

Note 3 p. 22

Λέσβιον Ἠρίννης τόδε κηρίον· εἰ δέ τι μικρόν,
ἀλλ' ὅλον ἐκ Μουσέων κιρνάμενον μέλιτι.
οἱ δὲ τριηκόσιοι ταύτης στίΧοι ἶσοι Ὁμήρῳ,
τῆς καὶ παρθενικῆς ἐννεακαιδεκέτευς·
ἣ καὶ ἐπ' ἠλακάτῃ μητρὸς φόβῳ, ἣ καὶ ἐφ' ἱστῷ
ἑστήκει Μουσέων λάτρις ἐφαπτομένη,
Σαπφὼ δ' Ἠρίννης ὅσσον μελέεσσιν ἀμείνων,
Ἤριννα Σαπφοῦς τόσσον ἐν ἑξαμέτροις.

Note 4 p. 23

.... ὁ δὲ δώματος ἐκ μυΧάτοιο
ἔρΧεται Ἑρμείης σποδιῇ κεΧρημένος αἰθῇ·
αὐτίκα τὴν κούρην μορμύσσεται, ἡ δὲ τεκούσης
δύνει ἔσω κόλπους θεμένη ἐπὶ φάεσι Χεῖρας.

